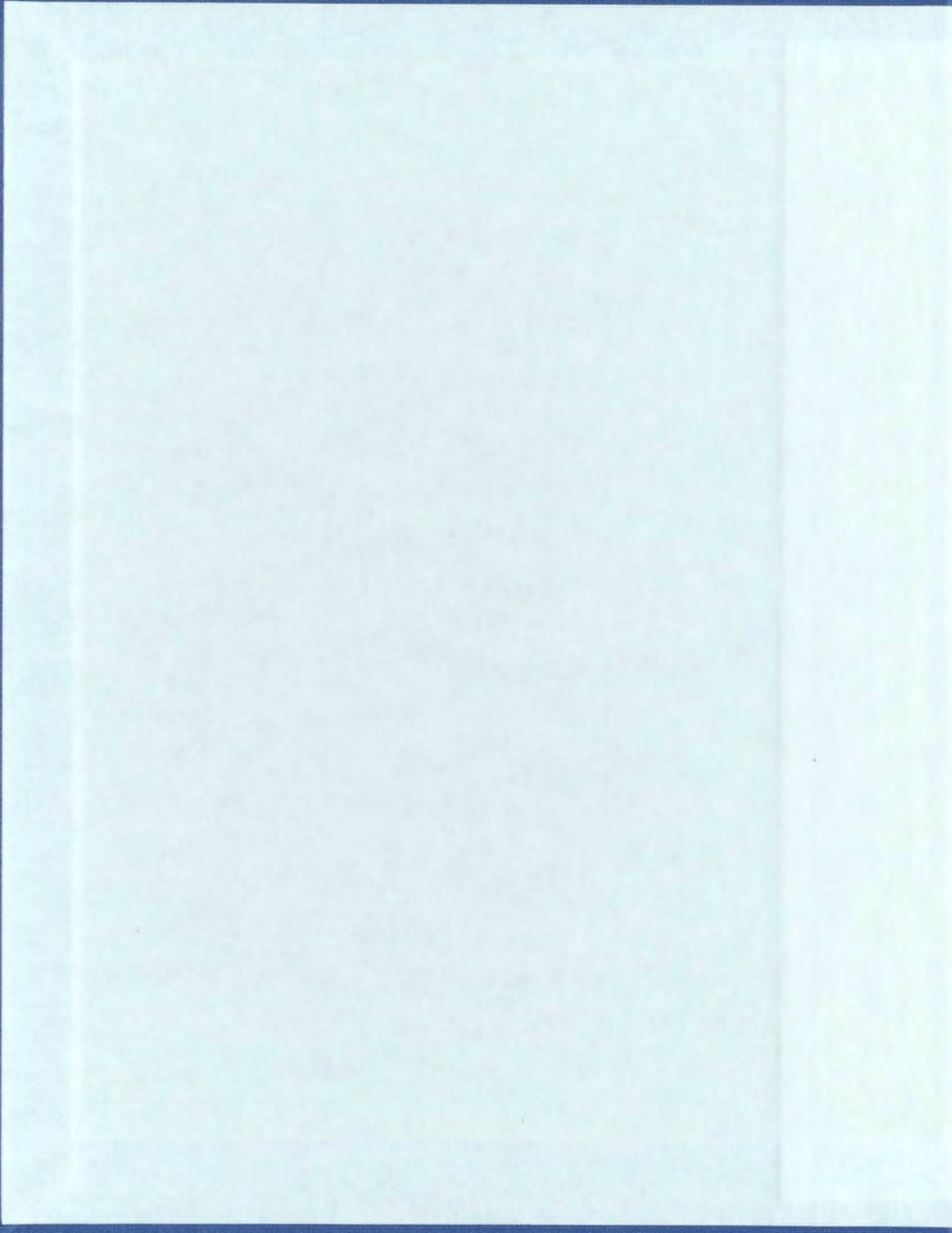


MOOSE HUNTING IN HEART'S CONTENT,
TRINITY BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

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MOOSE HUNTING
IN
HEART'S CONTENT, TRINITY BAY, NEWFOUNDLAND

by

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Abstract

In rural Newfoundland in autumn, nothing, other than the commercial fishery, dominates the discussion among men as much as moose hunting. This activity has evolved from the subsistence hunting and fishing traditions of early settlers but remains a focus of sociability in the community and a major aspect in the social identity of men.

Unlike most mainland North American sports hunting where ritual is a major feature, in Newfoundland ritual is minimal, moose hunting being motivated by social, traditional, and economic factors. Sharing is dominant in the pre-hunt, hunt, and post-hunt stages including the traditions of sharing personal experience narratives and sharing meat within the community. Traditions have become highly detailed and are demonstrated by a system of horizontal and vertical transmission including a unique tradition of adoptive transmission that presents parallels to the former fishing industry. New traditions are evolving with women increasingly becoming participants in a supporting role to provide more access to moose licences, contributing to demographic changes in hunting parties. Moose hunting has become a practical means of providing food which has developed a range of foodways involving moose meat for private and community consumption.

Though new technologies are being utilized in moose hunting, all hunters in this study share a love for the outdoors and the continuation of traditions established by generations of fisherman-hunter forefathers.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

“You know the saddest sight I ever see?”

‘No, Aunt Martha. You must have had many a hardship in your ninety years on this barren island.’

‘Well, ‘twas the bottom of the flour barrel at the first of March. ...I remember there was only one thing else that could save us. That was our trap line.’” (Bice, “Hunting and Fishing in Canada,” 19). The preceding describes the dire situation experienced by a fisherman’s wife and resident of Cape Onion on the northernmost tip of the island of Newfoundland. It is a stark testament to the precariousness of the earlier settlers’ lives in the fishing villages that dot the island’s coastline. To help put it in perspective, supplies would not reach them until the ice was gone in June (Bice, 19). Consequently, living off the land was imperative for survival. George Story reports in *People of the Landwash: Essays on Newfoundland and Labrador* that the settlers who were fishermen in the summer became hunters other times of the year. “The interior, [of Newfoundland] with its thick forests, its unknown mineral wealth, and its vast stretches of barren land, was unsettled, penetrated only seasonally and for short distances by fishermen-hunters stocking their winter larders with game or trapping for furs” (33).

This created a tradition of self-sufficiency and a “forced marriage” of fishing and hunting lifestyles in the early days of permanent European settlement. Consequently, there developed a new breed of settlers, fishermen-hunters, who were the forefathers of the vast majority of Newfoundlanders today who have inherited these fishing-hunting

skills. This explains why, as a boy growing up in a strong fishing culture, in Heart's Content in the 1950s, it was not unusual for me to see a gun in the corner of a fisherman's kitchen.

These fishermen-hunters fished in summer and hunted during the other three seasons seeking caribou, rabbits, and game birds in the fall, sea birds in winter, and seals in the spring. Fortunately, for most of our population, this necessity no longer exists, yet men and women each year take part in the adventure known as moose hunting to the extent that it has become part of the social fabric of Newfoundland life.

For centuries, Newfoundlanders, both aboriginal and non-aboriginal, used caribou as their main source of meat. Though the caribou is still hunted today it has been replaced by the moose as the focus of a hunting tradition. Yet, while many traditions have archaic origins, moose hunting is relatively new. A sustained moose hunt was not permitted until 1930 in western regions of the island of Newfoundland, and in other areas, such as the Bay de Verde Peninsula, moose hunting was not permitted until the late 1960s (www.env.gov.nl.ca/snp/Animals/moose.htm, 2/27/2006). In this relatively short span of time, from the 1930s to the present, the tradition of moose hunting, with its numerous sub-traditions, has emerged and become embedded in the folklife of rural Newfoundland. Before "Gotta Get Me Moose, B'y" was the title of a song by the popular music and comedy group, Buddy Wasisname and the Other Fellers, it was an expression used by many in anticipation of the fall moose hunt which was and is still reflecting a traditional quest for a significant portion of the population. One has "got to get his moose," not because his family will suffer dire consequences if he fails, but because participation in the hunt is an integral part of our folk culture. What is the motivation that compels us to keep our winter larders full? Is it an economic opportunity

to obtain a year's supply of fresh meat, a social activity, or is it due to strong traditional ties to the land? How does moose hunting influence familial bonds and friendship? Why has hunting become totally enmeshed in the Newfoundland identity?

1.1 Resources

The island of Newfoundland is situated on the east coast of Canada and is the sixteenth largest island on the planet. The majority of communities and large towns is located along the thousands of miles of coastline due to a centuries old fishing tradition. Most of its interior is boreal forest spotted with boglands and in higher altitudes, large areas of barren grounds, and is uninhabited except for a few towns that have developed mostly through the mining and pulp and paper industries. In spite of the establishment of industrial towns, the economy of Newfoundland and Labrador has not experienced the growth enjoyed by most other Canadian provinces. Though remaining economically impoverished, it is wealthy in natural resources, one of them being wildlife, and the land animal that generates most economic activity is the moose.

1.1.1 Moose

Alces alces is the largest member of the deer family in North America and can live twenty years or more in the wild. They are found primarily in the boreal forest and on the edges of barrens. An adult moose measures approximately 152-182 cm (5-6 ft) in height, and normally weighs 385-535 kg (850-1180 lbs.) with females weighing slightly less at an average of 272-362 kg (600-800 lbs.) Having no natural predators in Newfoundland, except black bears that prey on the calves, they have flourished since being introduced to Central Newfoundland, first in Gander Bay in 1878 and in Howley in 1904, probably to promote sport tourism, with a sustainable hunt being permitted in

certain parts of the island since 1930 (www.env.gov.nl.ca/snp/Animals/moose.htm. 2/27/2006). Today there are in the vicinity of 120,000 moose in Newfoundland (<http://www.canadacool.com/COOLFACTS/NEWFOUNDLAND/NFLDMoose.html>). Over the years, the moose population has increased steadily. For example in 1960, moose hunting licence sales were 16,000 (McLaren, Canadian Wildlife Service Occasional Paper 2007– in press), and in recent years they have risen to more than 20,000. (www.env.gov.nl.ca/snp/Animals/moosehtm. 2/27/2006).

1.2 Government Management

The Hunting and Trapping Guide 2007-08 (a new issue is published by the Government of Newfoundland and Labrador each year) provides detailed information for all hunters in the province, both resident and non-resident. Non-resident hunters, who must pay a fee of \$369.00 plus fourteen per cent Harmonized Sales Tax from licensed outfitters, usually hunt moose for the trophy rack or antlers that can grow to an impressive size. Newfoundland residents, for whom the licence fee is \$52.00 +HST, seek the trophy rack as well but hunt primarily for the meat, considered tasty by most people. Licences sold now are divided into three groups: male-only and calf, female-only and calf, or either sex (which is the licence of choice and the most issued). The Wildlife Department has divided the island into fifty moose management areas (See Appendix 1), and Labrador into fifteen management areas. The area on the island of Newfoundland with the highest quota is Moose Management Area (MMA) 2, Portland Creek, with fifteen hundred licences for this season and the lowest quota is forty, in MMA 38, on the Burin Peninsula, but most areas fall in between with four hundred to eight hundred licences. Labrador's quotas are much lower with the highest being thirty, and many with

only five ("Hunting and Trapping Guide 2007-08"). This thesis deals only with the island portion of the province, Newfoundland.

The licensing procedure demonstrates how popular moose hunting is in the province with a human population of only a little over 500,000. Darrin McGrath, in "Poaching in Newfoundland and Labrador: The Creation of an Issue," informs us that Newfoundlanders spend more days hunting than residents of most other Canadian provinces, only New Brunswick having a higher percentage (11). To obtain a resident licence, one must submit an application to be drawn by a computer program governed by a priority system with pool 1 having the highest priority and pool 5 having the lowest. The intent of this system of granting licences is to give those who have been in the draw the longest time without a licence the best possible chance of obtaining one. For example, hunters who have applied unsuccessfully over the previous three years are given top priority and placed in pool 1. The bottom priority, or pool 5, consists of hunters who were granted licences the previous year. As well, approximately twenty-five years ago the government introduced the "party" system that increased the chances for two people to obtain one licence between them by having both names on that licence. In the event that individuals should not desire a licence, they can have their priority status advanced in the next year.

1.3 Heart's Content

Though brought to the island of Newfoundland a little over a century ago, it wasn't until 1930 that the first legal moose hunt commenced; yet today virtually every community in Newfoundland has those who participate in moose hunting. One of these communities is the town of Heart's Content, a small outport fishing community on the

south side of Trinity Bay with a population of less than five hundred people and a distinct social history. Situated approximately one hundred kilometres from the provincial capital city of St. John's, in 1866 it was the center of world attention when the first successful trans-Atlantic telegraph cable was landed there and a telegraph office, state of the art at the time, was erected. As a result, a unique class society developed mainly comprised of the educated employees of the Western Union (from the United Kingdom and mainland North America), as well as the local merchants, on one end of the social spectrum residing in the central section of the town; on the other end, were local fishermen, residing in the margins of Southern Cove and, in particular, Northern Point who stubbornly held on to their customs and traditions. In 1965 the telegraph office, having long been obsolete, closed its doors and the town settled into a quiet lethargy all its own.

In spite of the influx of new people and lifestyles with elaborate housing and exclusive recreational facilities, the fishing families maintained a lifestyle and settlement pattern similar to that described by James Faris in *Cat Harbour: A Newfoundland Fishing Settlement*. Earlier settlers required large plots of land to grow vegetables and raise animals for subsistence. However, the properties, referred to as gardens, would eventually become divided among grown children on which they built houses next to their parents' home (Faris, 61), thus maintaining strong family connections. Being surrounded by a combination of boreal forest, barrens, lakes, ponds, brooks, and boglands, the community developed strong hunting and fishing traditions which persist to the present. This hinterland also proved to be an ideal habitat for moose which eventually spread to the area from the West Coast of the island and flourished to the point that a hunt became sustainable in the late 1960s.



Plate 1. Heart's Content with the forest covered Mizzen Mountain in the background and a lone fishing wharf and stage on the left in the foreground. This shoreline was at one time lined with wharves and stages such as these for fishing. Both of these areas were vital for the survival of the early fishermen-hunters.

Today, the town contains grocery stores, automotive repair shops, two abattoirs, a liquor outlet, a gas bar, and a gun dealer all of which depend partly on a vibrant moose hunting tradition. This tradition has been embraced by most households in the community. Since Heart's Content is not a large town (a person could easily walk around it from one end to the other in less than an hour), the hunters in the community are very familiar with each other and know who is involved in the various hunting groups. In 2006 the town had a population of 418 (Statistics Canada, *Heart's Content*, 2006). For the purposes of this study, I have concentrated on those aged 20 to 69 who in that year

numbered 135 males and 150 females. A survey I did of the hunters in the town was informal and the numbers are approximate, yet they present a clear picture of the involvement in hunting. Of the 135 males, approximately 95 were moose hunting applicants, and of the 150 females, about 39 of them regularly obtained licences for a total of 134 hunters.

However, many of the hunters there are not confined to the region surrounding Heart's Content. A considerable number of them travel to other areas of the province to hunt moose, in particular to the Northwest Gander and Millertown hunting areas in Central Newfoundland, MMAs 24 and 17 respectively. Having been born and raised in Heart's Content and influenced by hunters there, I have become a part of that tradition. I began hunting moose in the late 1960s in the area around Heart's Content, MMA 34 (See Appendix 2), and know many locations that moose frequent. In addition, I have travelled on many occasions to other areas in the province with some of the local hunters. These areas are popular destinations for hunters from different parts of the province who mingle and share knowledge, stories, and lore. Thus as a former resident and participant observer of this tradition, I will use Heart's Content as a microcosm of moose hunting in Newfoundland.

1.4 The Hunters

My informants have been recruited at my discretion to represent a cross section of hunters. Derek Peddle, 56, is originally from Chance Cove in the extreme southern corner of Trinity Bay but moved to Heart's Content at age twelve with his family. He is currently the captain of a fishing long liner. He began hunting with his father as a boy

and now hunts with his sons, as well as a partner he has hunted with for over thirty years, usually from a cabin he co-owns with two other moose hunters.

Cyril Baker, 54, is from Placentia Bay but moved here at the age of ten with his parents who were originally from Heart's Content. He is the owner of a contracting company and former fisherman and has been hunting for forty years, thirty of them with Derek Peddle. Cyril is the co-owner of a cabin in the hinterland of Heart's Content used primarily for moose hunting.

Henry Hiscock, 81, his son Melvin, 53, and grandson, Jamie, 31, represent three generations who frequently hunt together from a cabin or trailer and at times from their homes. Henry, originally from the north side of Trinity Bay, is a retired fisherman and his son and grandson are long liner fishing captains. Henry still traps and hunts in the wintertime as well.

Bill Balsom, 47, born and reared in Heart's Content, now resides in the St. John's area and is a real estate appraiser. He hunted the area around Heart's Content as a youth and later hunted the areas of Northwest Gander and later Millertown where he has been hunting for almost thirty years as part of a regular group of hunters.

Max Piercey, 60, a retired fisherman of Heart's Content, has been hunting for approximately thirty-seven years in both Central Newfoundland and later, the Heart's Content area with the same partner and occasionally hunts with his son and daughter-in-law.

Arch Langer, 53, a heavy construction worker and former fisherman from Heart's Content, has been hunting with Max Piercey for approximately thirty-seven years

routinely and now occasionally hunts with his wife and son when he is home from the Canadian Armed Forces.

Wylie Parrott, 53, of Heart's Content, is a mechanic. He has been hunting since he was sixteen and has hunted in Central Newfoundland but now hunts only in the Heart's Content area with friends and his son of fifteen years.

Harry Smith, 74, from Heart's Content, a retired linesman with Newfoundland Light and Power, is an avid hunter and has hunted in different areas of the province. His sons Keith, 45, and Craig, 44, are co-owners of a long liner and fish for a living but derive part of their livelihood from hunting and trapping. They hunt in the Heart's Content area and extensively in the Northwest Gander area where they have a cabin.

For each of these individuals, hunting is part of their yearly cycle of activities, especially hunting moose. In years when they have had a licence, none of them has been unsuccessful in taking a moose. I have hunted with six of these men at some time, two of them occasionally. For the sake of convenience, I shall occasionally refer to these individuals by their first names. Other individuals who were not interviewed but contributed to this study by their presence at a cabin include: other fishermen, a worker with the Fisheries and Oceans Canada, a retired woods worker, a businessman, a medical doctor, a retired finance company manager, a retired mechanic, and a trucker.

1.5 Social Beginnings

Human beings are by nature social creatures. For some, gregariousness is essential and Newfoundlanders, in general, fall into this category to such an extent that this sociability helps define them as a distinct society. One has only to witness the practice of Newfoundlanders living away from their home province seeking out other

Newfoundlanders to establish a social network reminiscent of their former lifestyle. A contemporary joke goes, "How can you identify the Newfoundlanders in heaven?" The answer is, of course, "They are the only ones who want to go home." The humour reflects the vast number of expatriate Newfoundlanders who choose home as a vacation destination each year especially if home is one of the "outports" (a term that refers to rural communities outside the metropolitan area of the provincial capital St. John's; many of them number less than five hundred people and are often referred to as "around the bay"). Norman Okihiro aptly described these communities in *Mounties, Moose and Moonshine: The Patterns and Context of Outport Crime* when he wrote, "The world of outport Newfoundland is rural, not urban. But unlike the bulk of rural areas, in which farming is the main activity and there is usually considerable distance between individual homes, people in outports live physically, and socially, close to each other...." (5).

This anachronistic pattern of settlement began and has lingered for practical reasons. As described above, in early fishing communities, sons traditionally built in their fathers' gardens. This, coupled with a generational inheritance of neighbours, quite often cousins who obtained land in the same fashion, resulted in close-knit neighbourhoods. In addition to this was the fact that members of an early Newfoundland community had to cooperate with each other in order to survive the severity of the climate, the reluctance of the soil, and the vicissitudes of the sea. Consequently, many endeavours were shared experiences (Okihiro, 30).

This sharing has created social mores and traditions strongly persisting from this earlier Newfoundland lifestyle that have remained resilient in spite of changes toward modern patterns of living. Though Newfoundland had been one of the last regions of North America to acquire modern amenities, the population had, by the twenty-first

century, adopted many North American trends in areas of occupation, diet, communication, and transportation. However, in my experience, the social traditions of co-operation and sharing, described by Faris and Okihiro, have experienced a decline in the larger urban centres, but remain in most smaller outport communities.

These traditions are manifested in many aspects of modern day Newfoundland, but none more so than in the moose hunting experience. At this point I should provide a description of each of the three major stages of this hunting experience: the pre-hunt, the hunt, and the post-hunt. With the exception of the rare person who prefers to hunt alone, each stage is characterized by social interaction, the dominant characteristic being sharing, both the tangible and the intangible, in conjunction with other social imperatives such as expectations, collaboration, and hunting social etiquette, all with tradition as the engine that drives them.

Chapter 2

THE PRE-HUNT

There are minor variations in preparing for the annual moose hunt but a definite regular pattern of social imperatives is evident. In March of each year the application documents arrive in the mail to be completed by a qualified hunter and returned by a certain deadline usually in April. In order to hunt moose or other big game legally in Newfoundland, one must be at least eighteen years of age by August 31st of the year applying and have completed a Firearm Safety/Hunter Education course. Each application kit includes a booklet titled *Hunting and Trapping Guide*, as well as the years of the hunting season, that shows statistics for previous hunts and provincial rules and regulations governing hunting under the jurisdiction of the provincial government. In June or July hunters are notified whether or not they were successful in obtaining a licence.

2.1 Expectations

The dominating theme of the preparations for the hunt is social compatibility and this is evident in all planning stages from the formation of groups to the materials and equipment needed. This social compatibility is due to two factors. Firstly, in the vast majority of cases the hunters in a group are totally familiar with each other being family members or friends either from childhood (most noticeable in rural communities), or at least most of their adult lives. For example, among my informants in Heart's Content, two are in groups that involve patriarchal relationships, a father and two sons, and three generations of male hunters, each with other family members involved. The rest either knew their hunting partners from childhood or as neighbours for most of their lives.

Secondly, hunters share a love for hunting and other outdoor activities. Felt and Sinclair in *Living on the Edge: The Great Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland* point out that Newfoundland outdoor activities are means of much sought recreation and an "escape from the house to hunt moose and ducks, fish for lake trout, and cut wood" (50). Bill Balsom reported getting away from work in the city as one of the factors. All of my informants have identified the same appreciation for all aspects of the outdoors: the hunting, the outdoor lunches called "boil-ups," or just being out on a clear autumn morning. Len Rich's book, *The Best of "In the Woods,"* is a celebration of the Newfoundland outdoors emphasizing the camaraderie shared by hunting experiences. Preparing for the hunt with those who enjoy it heightens the anticipation. As Felt and Sinclair explain, "Partying with large quantities of food and alcohol are central components of these trips, but not the core reason they take place" (50). They report that socialization is the primary motive, and social compatibility appears to be crucial to this socialization. "People love being in the wilderness with each other" (Felt, 50).

Nevertheless, there are expectations. Decisions have to be made such as who is available to go, and who is taking what vehicles, tools, and support material. If a person is part of the hunting group then he is expected to go unless a legitimately serious reason prevents this. If it is accepted as legitimate, then his absence is overlooked and in the event that a moose is killed, he will get his fair share. If the reason is not acceptable to the other members of the group, then he will lose some of his status in the group meaning respect for him as a committed hunter will diminish though he will not be ostracized and he will still receive his portion of the moose taken.

2.2 Hunting Groups

The social interaction of moose hunting in Heart's Content cannot be over-estimated and begins in the pre-hunt stage. A person may elect to join a hunting group which usually consists of family members and/or close friends of his family with whom he has hunted before as a minor. Traditionally, hunting groups consisted of friends in the community or co-workers but the trend is moving towards immediate family members. Of 134 adult hunters in Heart's Content between 20 and 69 in 2006, there were 43 groups of different sizes totalling 122 adults who hunt as part of a family, though some friends may be included.

A hunting group can consist of as few as two, to as many as necessary although rarely do groups exceed eight. Normally the number in a group is determined by the number of licences expected each year; for example a group of eight would usually obtain two moose licences. Most commonly, the number in a group is three or four, allowing at least a quarter of a moose per person, a quarter consisting of a leg with some ribs attached.

In many cases, an existing group may lose one of its members and an opening or "spot" becomes available. When joining a group, all efforts are made to be fair to all individuals in that group. If each member represents a different household, then a new hunter who is filling a vacant spot, even though he is of the household of one of the hunters, would be expected to share his moose equally with the rest. If a family member is just going along with a group that has no vacancy, he would not be expected to share a moose taken on his licence even though he may hunt with them and share expenses. This is due to the fact that his household is contributing more licences than the rest over a four or five year period. This would not be stated openly by him, it would be understood and

when he customarily offers a share to the rest of the party, they will normally refuse stating that they weren't "in on his licence." For example, a hunting party consisting of four friends who have been hunting together for a period of time have been arranging it so that they get a licence each year. One of their sons becomes old enough to hunt but still lives with his father. If on his first hunting trip with them he has a licence and they have their usual one, and two moose are harvested, he would not expect a share of their moose taken and would not be expected to share his. (However, in most cases he would insist they take some, especially if his licence were the only one filled).

This problem is commonly avoided by his joining another group or as is often the case, the father will leave the existing group and form one with his family member who is a new hunter and normally this is done with the understanding of his former group. Women family members of the new group may be encouraged (or persuaded) to take the Firearm Safety/Hunter Education test and then apply for a licence to increase the family's chances of obtaining a licence. The number of female hunters in Heart's Content has increased in recent years. In order to increase the family's chances of having moose meat, many women, with coaxing from their husbands or other male figures in the family, have completed the Firearm/Hunter Safety Course and are participating in the hunt itself by applying for a moose licence regularly. Much of this began in the early 1980s. Kay Lane, who did not come from a hunting family, decided to apply for a moose licence to increase the household's chances because other women in the community were doing the same thing. "Dianne, Georgina, Jean and all of them were going for their licences so I thought I would too. George [her husband] told me 'twas nothing to it.'" I estimate that there are currently thirty-nine females in Heart's Content who regularly apply for a moose licence.

A son is virtually assured acceptance into a hunting group if an opening becomes available and he is inclined to do so. However, if no son is available then someone else will fill it. Normally, the person who fills the opening is a friend or acquaintance of one, some, or all of the group's members and will be considered by the group to be a "good one to get," which means a person who is dependable, able to do his share of everything from work to providing materials, and most importantly compatible with the group. Being compatible simply means he will be easy to get along with and the kind of person who possesses the same social attributes as the others in this particular group. He will be approached by a group member after there has been some informal discussion among the members as to his acceptability. If one of the group vouches for him, he is usually accepted by all. This person may be in another existing group but wants to leave for whatever reason. The most common reasons being that his group wants to hunt in a new area too inconvenient for him or his best time for hunting has come to clash with the rest of the group. The odd cases involve serious disagreements with the group or some members that do not get resolved and create "bad blood" between them.

Negative feelings are to be avoided as much as possible since social harmony in the community takes precedence over almost all endeavours including moose hunting. Therefore, rarely will a hunter approach a group and ask directly to join. The possibility of his being rejected would put social stress on any relationship within the community outside hunting and is usually avoided. Melvin Firestone, in *Brothers and Rivals: Patrilocality in Savage Cove*, describes this "avoidance of directness and lack of commitment" as "mechanisms which operate to avoid embarrassing confrontations in relationships." He noted:

Without asking directly for whatever it is that is desired to be done the desiror is able to present the subject in such a tangential, but yet obvious manner, that although nothing is actually requested there is no doubt as to what is desired.

As no explicit request was made, not complying does not overtly jeopardize relations, as the person 'asked' does not refuse, and the person asking has not literally asked. (123)

If he is looking for a group, those in the hunting community know and if he is wanted he will be invited to join. However, if an individual is not considered suitable, either by any or all of the hunting party, then that person will not be invited to join even if another hunter is needed to fill the vacancy. If he should make overtures personally to one of the hunters, the response would probably be along the lines of "I'll check with the boys" and then it would not come up again. Each of the hunters knows who would be suitable and may not even ask the rest of the men in the party. If the prospective hunter insists in asking, he would be told that they are going to leave everything as it is or make up an excuse for not inviting him.

When becoming a member of, or leaving, an existing hunting party, there is an unspoken but clear expectation. If one were to become a member of an existing group of hunters in a party, he would be expected to join with a licence in his name; if one should decide he no longer wanted to be a member of a party, he should arrange it so that his last season with them was with a licence in his name, i.e. come in with a licence and go out with a licence. When this is not followed, it is noted by the others in the group and unless he left under extenuating circumstances, should that person wish to rejoin at a later time if an opening became available, he would not be welcome.

The decision making process for each hunting party varies. Some groups have designated one person whose responsibility it is to fill out the applications or at least

organize the application process to ensure that each year the group receives a licence or two depending on the area and the number of hunters in the group. The aim is usually one quarter of moose per person in the group. Those that have only two in a group have less chance of obtaining a licence and there is even less chance for those applying alone. In areas where there are a large number of licences issued, a party of four will probably obtain a licence each year, possibly two if applying for a remote area, and for a larger group in such an area two licences may be forthcoming each year. For example, each year Bill Balsom's group of eight is usually successful in receiving two licences to hunt in Central Newfoundland. Usually the highest two pools apply while the others have their priorities advanced, i.e. not applying but moving up in the pool, for the following year. Others complete applications individually and decide who will apply and who will advance either by all meeting together, members travelling to meet others individually, or by telephone. In any case, the hunters have a good idea who will be receiving a licence in the year in question. Finally, these applications may be sent in the mail or submitted on-line which a growing number of hunters, especially younger ones, are doing.

2.3 Gathering

Though most members of a hunting group know what is involved and the routine that is followed, decisions are sometimes made at a specific gathering if the hunters are living in close proximity to each other. Such an event would occur shortly before the first planned day of the hunt, usually the evening or weekend before. Fred Driscoll, whose group hunts from home, described to me his "moose meeting."

His group of four (all of whom live in close proximity to Heart's Content) usually has one licence each year for the area in which three of them live, MMA 34, the Bay de Verde hunting area (the other member living approximately ninety minutes away

in St. John's). On the evening before their first day of hunting the hunters, without their spouses, meet at Fred's house and enjoy a meal of cooked vegetables including carrots, turnip, cabbage and potatoes, with pickled beef, commonly known by either of the three following terms: "jigg's dinner," "cooked dinner," or "pork and cabbage." Liquor and/or beer are consumed before they return home before midnight. At this meeting they discuss, among other things, the location for hunting and any reported signs of moose in the area.

This situation and others similar to it are common in Newfoundland, especially when hunting from home. A meal may not be involved and all the members of the group may not be in attendance, but some form of gathering is common. In other situations one individual in the hunting party may contact each other member individually either in person, or, if group members are spread out geographically, by telephone.

A significant fact is that these gatherings are rarely referred to as a "meeting" (Fred's gatherings being the only exception that I am aware of). That term is formal and serious and is consequently avoided. This is ironic in view of the fact that though hunting in itself is taken seriously by the participants, the formal is minimized, particularly with hunters from outport communities. The hunters in a party are usually well-acquainted with each other and are prone to conversing in the informal vernacular. In Heart's Content, as in many other places, this meeting is commonly called a "get together" and a request for a gathering to discuss the hunt is usually initiated by such a phrase as, "We'll have to get together and see what we're going to do." Obviously, hunting is an activity where care and caution are imperative, but it is nevertheless a social activity among friends and thus is highly informal. When contact is made it is quite informal and may be similar to Fred's tradition or, if initiated by one, in the form of an

unannounced visit to a group member's house, his shed, through open car windows, in a vehicle or on the wharf, wherever one happens to find the person or persons he is seeking. A case of beer or a bottle of rum or whiskey may or may not be included, depending on the appropriateness of the place and time.

A typical gathering of all would involve a social visit. If the hunters gather with their spouses, the planning or decision-making for the hunt will almost certainly take place in the kitchen with only the men present. The wives or girlfriends will normally be in the living room chatting. Alcohol will be present if getting together involves a visit with a spouse. These gatherings often assume a party atmosphere and in many instances are partly justifications for getting together and socializing. In any case, the hunt is discussed in a jovial atmosphere with much anticipation. Discussion will revolve around where exactly to hunt, who will take what, and as the evening progresses, stories of past hunts and the fun they experienced will be retold. The evening will end with a snack prepared by the host which often includes the "last bit of moose we got." The gatherings or get-togethers, social interactions in whatever form, are often considered by the participants to be precursors to another enjoyable experience.

In rural Newfoundland socializing among hunters is common and not necessarily restricted to those that hunt together on a licence. For example, on any given Saturday evening, especially in the fall, a member of hunting party A and his spouse may visit the home of a member from party B. The conversation among the men will be focussed on hunting, and fishing if they are fishermen. This could occur at any time of the year but most frequently in the autumn and early winter, during which much information on moose hunting and hunting in general is exchanged. Again, a split will occur with the

females chatting in the living room and the men in the kitchen discussing hunting and fishing almost certainly if more than two couples are involved.

Though hunting is almost totally enmeshed in community relationships, there are individuals who do not hunt. Some are newcomers to the area and did not come from a hunting tradition while some work away from home in the fall. Others, when asked why they didn't hunt, a typical response was, "I just don't bother with it" or the rare, "I don't like moose." Most of them do like moose and on occasion have helped hunters procure theirs. Those who grew up in Heart's Content appear to have an appreciation for the hunting tradition and how important it is to most members of the community. In fact, I know of no adult there or in any other outport community who openly opposes the moose hunt. This may help explain why the non-hunters are not ostracized by hunters and are well-integrated within the community often socializing with those who do hunt. However, I would venture to say that if there were any who openly opposed the hunt, that individual would not enjoy the same social integration that supporters do.

When non-hunters socialize with hunters the conversation will deal with various topics and occasionally turn to hunting if only two males are present. If there are more and the majority is made up of hunters, then the non-hunter should resign himself to the fact that the topic will be hunting and fishing, and any attempts to change the subject will be futile.

2.4 Equipment

Some aspects of planning the hunt vary. One involves preparing for hunting in the area of the home community where in many instances the hunt is successful in the morning and the hunt is over by lunchtime with the moose quartered, skinned, and hung. Other hunts may be taking place at a cabin or a camper, which range from a truck camper

to a motor home with all the conveniences of home. These may be situated or set up near the home town, while some hunts are conducted hundreds of kilometres from home.

Nevertheless, an axe, knife, and rope are essential for the above scenarios.

Until recently, traditional methods of transporting a moose carcass were labour-intensive. Due to its size and weight, when a moose was shot, killed, and paunched, it was cut in half across the backbone and down through the backbone in each half dividing it into four sections, each consisting of a leg and several ribs referred to as a "quarter" for transporting. If a moose were killed far from a main road it invariably meant the arduous tasks of either transporting it by carrying a full quarter of moose, which may weigh up to 120 pounds, on one's shoulders, or by cutting slots in the hide and stretching them until one could fit his arms in and carry it on his back like a huge heavy backpack. Partners could have made a crude hand-barrow to carry it out which consisted of two long sticks with shorter ones fastened across it to make a stretcher-like device for carrying one quarter, or whatever could be carried at one time, out of the woods. Occasionally, these methods and techniques are still employed in the hunt.

However, in recent years the majority of hunters have the added convenience of a chainsaw, two-way radios, and even more recently, a battery-operated reciprocating saw. Most importantly, all-terrain vehicles (ATVs) have become commonplace reducing much back-breaking labour and toil by carrying moose on front and rear racks on the machines. ATVs are becoming more common and range from the older three-wheeled models to the newer four-wheeled quads, to the even more costly models with a roof, side-by-side seats and a pan in the rear for transporting heavy loads. Many ATVs are fitted with gun case holders for carrying the rifles to afford easy access to the gun in the event of an unexpected moose sighting, which often occurs. As would be expected, these items need

to be maintained, sharpened, oiled, and made ready. In the event one of these did not work properly, especially if due to poor maintenance, the owner might be subjected to considerable teasing and ribbing by the others in the group.

If a member of the group has some material possessions that would be an asset to the hunt, for example two-way radios, he would be expected to provide them. However, breaches such as these are rarely an issue for in virtually all cases, everyone will bring what he can to aid in the general well-being of the hunt besides his share of commodities such as refreshments and anything else. In most cases the members will offer to provide anything they own that they feel is essential or helpful before being asked. This selfless characteristic is common among Newfoundlanders in general. If one has something that he feels another needs it will be made readily available, in many cases insisting that it be used, with the owner displaying that he places little significance on it no matter how important it really is to him.

2.4.1 Apparel

Apparel for hunters has undergone significant change. When moose hunting first appeared in Newfoundland, government safety education initiatives were not in existence. Blaze-coloured clothing was not common and camouflage was practically unheard of. Men wore the same type of clothing for moose hunting as they wore for any other woods activity such as rabbit slipping or even cutting wood. In most cases it included homemade woollen mittens (commonly called "mitts" or "cuffs" and with a trigger finger separate from the rest of the fingers). Also included would be sweater, socks, and the knitted headwear referred to commonly as the stocking cap (or, on mainland Canada, "toque"). As well, in the event a man would feel the need for a covering for his penis, he would have his wife knit a woollen item termed a "cockstall."

This is still being knit today but only as a gag item. Footwear invariably was knee-high rubber boots. If wet weather were anticipated, oil clothes (cloth material soaked in linseed oil) would be worn or brought along. Excluding the oil clothes, most of these garments are still common today since many of the woollen items are still made by local women of the community.



Plate 2. Woollen mittens or "cuffs" to be used for cold weather hunting had a "trigger finger" for convenient access to the trigger of the rifle. The pair above was knitted by the author's mother at age ninety and is currently used for hunting.

Hunting apparel today is technologically advanced. Along with blaze or red-coloured vest and cap, we see more types of boots specifically made for hunting as well as synthetic camouflage suits and caps. Neoprene, Goretex, and polypropylene are common synthetics from which more modern hunting apparel is made (Kielley, 15).

Though actually intended for use while duck hunting, moose hunters wear this synthetic camouflage-style clothing, especially the younger generation.

Some aspects of modern hunting apparel have become universally accepted while others have not. Among hunters, contemporary boots are positive products of modern technology. With felt liners, they are more comfortable and for late-fall and winter hunting are much warmer. However, the clothing worn by many current hunters presents an intriguing element being either contradictory or counter-productive to safety. On rare occasions I have observed hunters dressed in two-piece camouflage suits with orange/blaze vests over them. So much for camouflage. More common is the absence of orange or blaze clothing, which obviously increases the risk of being shot by other hunters. At least three of the hunters I have interviewed, all extremely experienced and successful, reject the blaze orange or red when hunting. Wylie Parrott is one who chooses not to wear the traditional red or blaze when hunting. Cyril Baker also refuses to wear bright colours when hunting. Dee Peddle, one of the hunters I shadowed during a hunting trip, told me jokingly when he saw me wearing blaze coloured overalls, "You're not going hunting with us with all that orange on." Bill Balsom and his group will not wear bright colours when in the forest preferring to hunt without even wearing red caps.

This dangerous situation is a measured risk more common than one would expect. Ostensibly, it suggests carelessness on their part. However, I suggest that their choice of clothing is a combination of tradition and the necessity that they not be seen. Max Piercey and Arch Langer wear the same outfit that they have been wearing for many years though by now it is in poor condition. When asked why, they explained that it was for tradition and luck. Max asked me if I always wore the same thing moose hunting and was genuinely surprised when I said that I didn't. Wylie's opinion is that if orange or

blaze is worn, the hunter will be more conspicuous to the moose and they will watch the hunter consistently, but if dull earthy colours are worn they will ignore him. Dee usually wears a camouflage suit when hunting for the same reason; he doesn't want to stand out from the environment for the moose to see. Again Bill's rationalization is that if the colours stand out for humans to see, then moose can see it too, although he admits that the experts contend that moose only see in black and white. As for the danger factor, his trust in his hunting partners allows him to wear any colour he wishes, even the colour brown which is incidentally the colour of the cap and overalls he wears when hunting. In addition, with these respondents, there is the distinct impression that in their respective hunting parties they are normally in charge. Thus when they hunt with their partners, they can organize placements for hunters in the woods or at least point out any potentially dangerous situation when it is determined where each hunter with a gun will go, minimizing the risk of an accidental shooting.

For Bill's hunting party, the importance of this tradition has made it necessary for them to gain control of the hunting area they use. In order for them to wear natural or wood coloured clothing, they have to feel secure that they are the only hunters there, but they realize they have no right to demand that other hunters stay out. The area they hunt is frequented only by them, made possible because they make it a point to be at the hunting camp before the first day of the rabbit-snaring season. They set out a line of rabbit snares before anyone comes to hunt so that when others investigate the area, they see the rabbit snares and quickly come to the conclusion that moose hunting there would be futile due to the evidence of other hunters and go elsewhere. Consequently, the only hunters there are those in his group. When asked if there were any "don't's" on his

hunting trips, he was quite adamant about not hunting with people they don't know or feel they can trust to exercise caution when preparing to shoot.

It was also explained to me that these men arrange annual vacation time around this hunt at the same time each year and that each one travels considerable distance to reach it, so complete and safe access to that location is imperative for a successful hunt. They established this hunting area almost thirty years ago and know it extremely well, thus they are afforded optimum opportunity to hunt safely and fill their licences. They have also set up a situation in which they have first-rate accommodations and even a cook for them while they are there. To have to go somewhere else and start over would be too inconvenient. Just as importantly, it was pointed out, this is part of their hunting tradition.

2.4.2 Weapons

Another area that has seen change is the choice of weapon to be used in the hunt. Though bow hunting is practised by some, the weapon of choice is the rifle which has evolved from the single ball musket or "muzzleloader," as they were commonly called in early settlement days, to the more efficient modern bolt action or semi-automatic rifles. In the early days of moose hunting, the army surplus Lee Enfield .303 was the rifle commonly used since it could be bought at almost any hardware store in practically any community. Since then different high-powered rifles of much higher calibres are used. In some instances, the twelve gauge shotgun is used for moose hunting if one has a moose licence but no rifle. These guns, which are meant for small game (waterfowl, other game birds, and rabbits) since they fire shells, can also fire a slug, a shell with a single lead ball in it, and can bring down a moose at up to a hundred yards. It is commonly used by moose poachers since the gun is legal if the carrier has a small game

licence in his possession. However, without a big game licence (i.e. moose, caribou, or bear), it is illegal to carry slugs, consequently, they have to be hidden.

Which leads us to an interesting point. Moose hunting success can be precarious due to weather, under-abundance of moose, or other unforeseen circumstances, and toward the end of the season the situation becomes "desperate" for some. Hunters in a party who are not holders of a moose licence, often will obtain a small game licence to have in their possession while moose hunting. That person can then carry a twelve gauge shotgun with slugs to help licensed hunters obtain a moose if one should get within range. All he has to do is simply hide the slugs somewhere on his person to be discarded immediately if a wildlife official should check his gun. A recent change in regulations permits the use of .22 calibre rifles for small game. Some of these .22 calibre rifles are powerful enough to kill a moose if hit in the head and gradually they are appearing on moose hunting trips. Another "trick of the trade" is to apply for a bear licence for the same area as the moose licence. The holders of these licences may indeed hunt bears but in most cases they are bought for the purpose of aiding in the moose hunt. These licences are easier to obtain and enable the licence holder to carry a high-powered rifle as well; consequently if a moose is seen and the time left for the hunt is short, the "bear hunter" may be given the "go ahead" by the licence holder or the other hunters in the party to shoot a moose if he should see one that fits the licence. Though this is a form of poaching, it is not regarded as such by hunters. For virtually all Newfoundland hunters, this is totally acceptable, especially with respect to hunting trips to a cabin when there is only a limited time to hunt. This is discussed further in Chapter 4.

At first, the licence holder, or maybe a novice hunter who has never shot a moose before (possibly a hunter's son), will be given an opportunity to shoot, or at least

get a shot at, a moose. However, when time has passed and no moose, then any other person who has a gun and capable ammunition would be expected to shoot a moose if the opportunity presented itself. When this would occur would vary with the different parties, and in fact, some parties practice this from day one of the hunt.

2.5 Collaboration

In the event of a long distance hunting trip based at a cabin, preparations have to be thorough. Decisions have to be made regarding what items to take and who will be responsible for providing them. For example, if all members of the group should own a vehicle, and/or an ATV, it may be unnecessary or impractical to take all of them. Therefore usually the most convenient vehicles are used such as those with hitches, trucks that can carry four people, or other considerations. Thus one of the key features of a moose hunting group is collaboration.

To see how collaboration has taken a traditional flavour and how this tradition works in a group, we shall refer to the hunting experiences of a group of hunters, of which Bill Balsom is a member, who travel to Central Newfoundland near Millertown. This particular moose hunting tradition, beginning on the Canadian Thanksgiving Day weekend, has been ongoing for approximately thirty years. This group has seen new members come and go over the years but still has core members that have been there since it began and they have effectively collaborated for a successful hunt for all but one of these years when one of the members forgot to get the applications in on time.

Since the location and time have already been established by tradition, the first consideration is how to get to the hunting area. Bill informed me that their transportation system is determined by an informal rotation system. At one time two of the older members in the group were successful businessmen and took their trucks each year. Now

that they have retired and do not have trucks, Bill and another person, purely voluntarily, take their pick-up trucks. One of the members, Gary Hindy, lives out of the province so he flies in and is picked up at the same place each year to take part in the hunt. Bill's nephew, David Balsom, is responsible for ensuring that the group has two "either sex" licences each year in rotation. Bill emphasized that the "bull only" licences were not considered by the group which is the main reason they were always successful. (A "bull only" licence is exactly what it says. The holder is permitted to shoot only a bull thus restricting the chances of getting a moose).

The settling of accounts is traditionally the responsibility of Bill who provides an itemized list of expenses each year for all members of the group (See Appendix 3). Even though most of the groceries are the responsibility of Karl Bruff, another member, David also provides homemade bread for the group which usually consists of ten loaves baked by his mother especially for the hunting trip. Another responsibility is that of skinning any rabbits caught. That responsibility is assumed by Gary Hindy, more out of tradition than necessity, who skins the rabbits that have been caught which oftentimes exceed one hundred.

Another social tradition that has become synonymous with the trip concerns the owner of the cabin, Cyril Hicks. He has made the cabin available for them since they began travelling there to hunt. Initially, along with paying him a fee in cash, they would always bring down a substantial amount of salt fish for him. Now that he has retired and joined the group, his share of the expenses is providing the cabin which, for hunters, has excellent accommodations for eight people and first rate cooking facilities which are always ready when they arrive. He also has assumed the duties of cook. In return, he gets an equal share of the hunt including rabbits and grouse as well as moose. As well as

providing the groceries the members continue to bring him down approximately \$175 worth of salt fish, \$100 for the use of the cabin, and a bottle of scotch each, as well as some other item he could use for himself when in the cabin. For example the year I did fieldwork with the group, they presented him with a propane cooker. In return they get a cabin that they can use each and every year for hunting at the time when they want it and do not have to worry about its maintenance.

Of course, all preparation leads ultimately to the hunt in which we see a continuation of social traditions. To examine the actual hunt itself, I will describe the hunt from home and hunting from cabins plus the hunting party I observed at a cabin in the Millertown area. Evident in each of these situations will be the characteristics that help make moose hunting in Heart's Content a microcosm of social dynamics and attitudes consistent with pre-modern Newfoundland and to a certain extent, wider North American traditions. We shall see that hunting social etiquette and camaraderie are major features of the social interaction in the hunt.

Chapter 3

THE HUNT

3.1 From Home

Moose hunting from one's home is typical of the original style of hunting in Newfoundland and is still more common than hunting from a cabin. To those who commute to larger urban areas such as St. John's, a home in the country is more than just a removal from work and crowded traffic, it offers immediate access to fishing and hunting. Virtually all those Newfoundlanders who hunt were initiated into its culture by trips made from home because many communities have an immediate hinterland that offers opportunities to hunt moose only fifteen minutes or less from one's house.

On several occasions I have spoken to local hunters who have proudly informed me that they had their moose down and hung by seven o'clock in the morning on the opening day of the season. For anyone who enjoys moose hunting, the paradox arises that though they have proven their prowess at finding and bringing down a moose with relatively little effort, their hunting season lasted only an hour or so, unless they intend to help someone else. But there are others, such as Derek Peddle, who alternates hunting from home and from his cabin near his home, for whom being out in the woods is just as important as getting a moose. In his interview he stated: "When I got a licence, I'll go in the road without a gun for a month to look around. If a moose comes out, I'll drive it away." In many instances he has waited well toward the end of the season before hunting in earnest. I suggest most moose hunters fall between these two extremes; many will shoot the first day, yet they are not overly disappointed if they are unsuccessful.

3.2 Weather

In the overwhelming majority of cases, the first, and last, item on the agenda of planning for the hunt is the weather. As with other Newfoundland endeavours, activities of men are usually performed in an outdoor environment and the weather dictates everything, especially hunting. If the long range forecast is favourable, immediate plans will get under way. This not to say that inclement weather deters hunters, the hunt commences unless winds and precipitation are of storm force conditions, but bad weather determines where the hunt occurs and what items need to be taken and worn. Forecasts now are obtained from either the newscasts or a phone call to the weather office and are usually accurate especially if acquired the day before the hunt.

However, the forecast was traditionally obtained by knowledge of prevailing winds, and/or weather signs, which, incidentally, were generally reliable. In the area of Heart's Content, a colourful sunset almost guarantees fine weather the next day. If one could hang his powder horn on the moon (when the crescent moon had the two corners pointed upwards), then it was just as well he did, rather than go hunting, because it was an indication of bad weather. It would certainly prove too inclement for earlier turr (murre) or seal hunters, with whom the saying is associated, to venture out on the water. Today, these indicators are still considered and though this may not stop the moose hunt, it certainly demands that one wear his waterproof material and hunt in an area where the wind is blowing against him while tracking the moose. Oftentimes the final decision on weather will occur late in the evening before the day of the hunt. A trip outside will offer an observation of the sky and the direction and "feel" of the wind. If favourable, the hunt is on.

3.3 In the Woods

In these hinterlands, a hunter's proximity to home varies. Some may hunt within a half an hour from their homes, others may travel farther inland such that they are half a day's ride on an ATV from their communities. After getting the weather forecast the night before to determine the wind conditions, rising early in the morning is imperative. The goal is to arrive at the location and be ready for hunting before daylight since that is the prime time for moose sightings. After breakfast is finished and all toiletries completed, a quick lunch may be got ready if not prepared the night before.

Hunting paraphernalia is donned and with guns and ammunition the hunters step out into the morning darkness. An assessment of the weather is made although many will have already been outside to relieve themselves and made an assessment. With weather conditions and especially wind direction in mind, the hunters will set off to their destinations. Normally, the location would have been checked before the hunting season began to determine whether or not it contained signs of moose activity (tracks, excrement, or young growth having been chewed).

Once at the destination, the hunt is on in earnest. There are three distinctive techniques used by hunters no matter where one hunts. With winds usually blowing towards the hunters, they may stay in one location deemed suitable for spotting a moose, probably overlooking a bog or cutover (a once forested area cleared by loggers and consisting of low young growth). Many hunters are content to remain patiently in a place such as this to see if a moose is forthcoming. Many are content to repeat this until a moose is seen or shot. If it appears that moose are not around this location any longer, the hunters will abandon it in favour of another.

Other hunters make it a practice to walk around, or through, large "drokes" or groves of trees that show promising signs of moose presence. The intention is make the moose aware they are approaching to startle them and drive them out into the open where another in the party can have a shot. This will usually be the licence holder or a son or novice but may be any of the other hunters in the party especially towards the end of the trip or season. This will have to be repeated at different locations until a sighting occurs.

A third option for some hunters is to "drive the road." In areas of high moose population density, moose will often be on a road or highway or will be seen from there. Some hunters are content to stay in their vehicles driving slowly back and forth until a clear shot is afforded. These hunters are in the minority and are not looked upon favourably by other hunters who travel to an area off the road to hunt. Not only does the practice impede regular traffic on the road, there is an element of danger to traffic if a moose is startled and crosses the road in front of oncoming vehicles. It is not regarded as true hunting but merely the practice of lazy men.

Another technique, though not used by many hunters in the Heart's Content area, is the practice of vocally calling a moose out in the open. Keith and Craig Smith maintain that "calling out moose" is essential to improve one's chances of having a successful moose hunt in any area unless one is awfully lucky, although Keith admits that at first they were sceptical and laughed at it. They were taught the technique by a hunter from another part of the province who, they say, was expert at it and with whom they hunted until they learned how to perform the calls though it took them almost five years to achieve any success with the technique. There are several different calls all to be used in the rutting season which lasts from the mid September to early November: one for a cow seeking a bull to mate; the grunting sound the bull makes when he is coming to her;

one of a cow that is tormented by a bull that she is not ready for; and of a bull accepting a challenge.

3.4 Boil-up

One of the most universally enjoyed outdoor activities is the “boil-up” (O’Brien, *Ethnologies*, 66). A tradition persisting from early days of settlement, it involves taking foodstuffs and an outdoor woods kettle into the country, lighting a fire and having a “cup of tea in the woods.” The kettle, traditionally referred to as “the slut,” may have been specifically made for that purpose, or may be improvised from a large juice can. Fishermen would take a lunch out in the boat with them and boil the kettle on an improvised stove aboard the boat. On land, men going in the forest to cut wood for heating fuel, berry-pickers and trouters, both men and women, would boil the kettle for a cup of tea in the woods.



Plate 3. Wood kettles on the open fire for a “boil-up.” Note the wide base for stability.

There will be a variety of food available at the boil-up or outdoor lunch and this is often generationally divided. It is common for the younger hunters to include modern foodstuffs such as colas, chips, or chocolate bars. The older hunters would be more prone to bringing traditional foodstuffs, traditional in the sense of being established hundreds of years ago by the early European hunters, or more recent traditional items. By far the most popular and traditional foodstuff would be split salt fish or smaller whole salt fish, approximately thirty centimetres in length called a rounder (in Newfoundland, the word "fish," used meaning a foodstuff, refers to cod, and smaller whole salted cod are called interchangeably "rounders," "leggies" or "tomcods"). It is usually wrapped in the traditional brown paper or more modern aluminum foil to be placed on an open fire. Other fish may be included such as smoked mackerel or herring or dried salted capelin. The homemade bread tradition is a virtually universal feature in Newfoundland outdoor fare. Of the many outings I have participated in, white homemade bread is what is most desired by all participants. In fact, on one occasion an individual brought store bought sliced bread referred to as "baker's bread" or the derogatory "baker's fog." It was immediately met with scorn and derision, mainly because it was brought by a person with access to homemade bread. He explained that he was in a hurry and it was all he had time to collect. He eventually threw it away and we shared our homemade bread with him. Other items commonly carried could be domestically canned or bottled moose, turr (murre), rabbit, and seal as well as commercial items such as beans and canned sausages accompanied with tea or occasionally coffee. If a boil-up is not planned, a light lunch of soft drinks and chocolate bars or potato chips will suffice, or hard bread (sea biscuit) to chew if hunger occurs. The popularity of the fish, bread and tea is still prevalent as illustrated by Jamie Hiscock's assertion that if rain should be pending while hunting, his

group would stop and boil the kettle long before lunch time in order to have that cup of tea and salt fish in the woods.

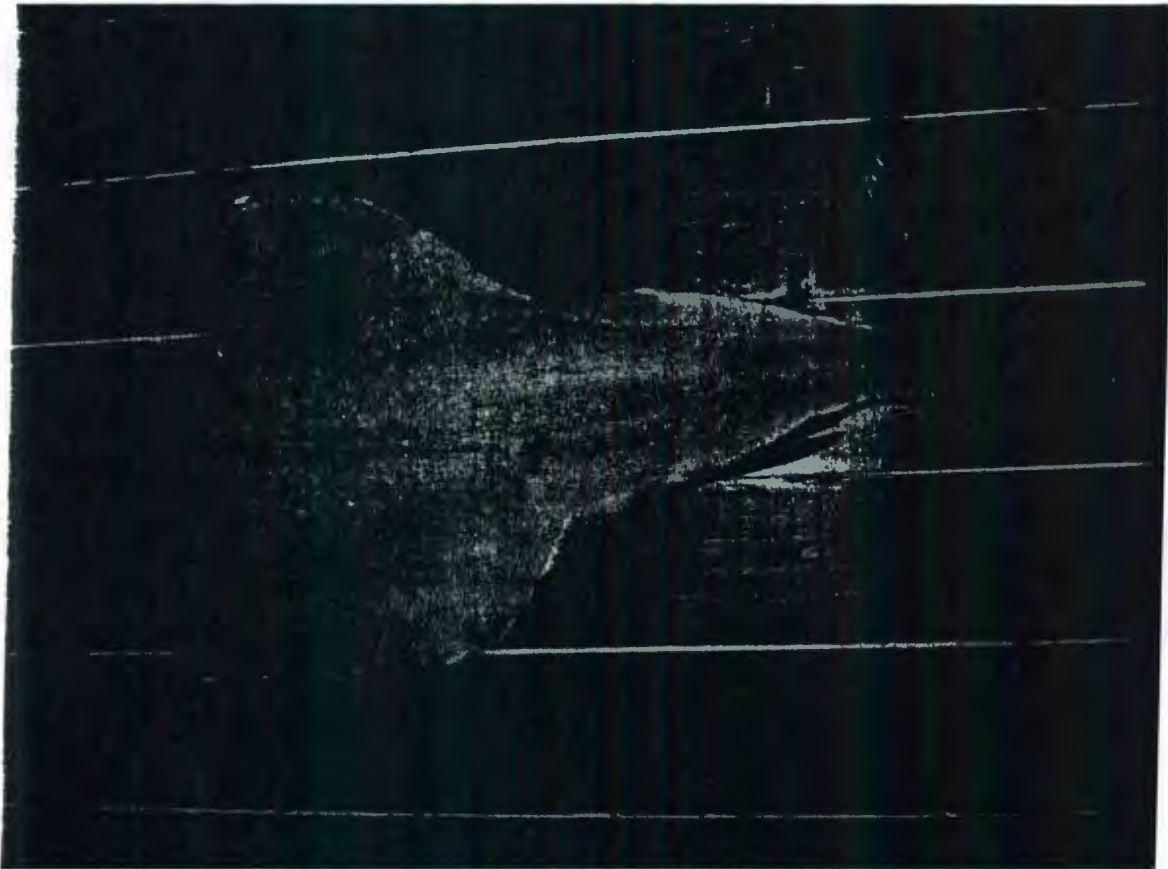


Plate 4. A split and salted codfish remains a favourite lunch item with a "cup of tea outdoors."

The food taken by the hunters in the woods is quite substantial and there appears to be a cultural tendency to bring more than is necessary to eat. Ostensibly it is a precaution in the event that one may have to spend the night in the woods due to some misfortune. I believe, however, that it is more due to the idea that one should bring more than enough in case someone else should want some of what one has. I have often heard this mindset verbalized as "It's better to have too much than not enough," which results in sharing. When eating, offerings are made to others in attendance when eating with

such common expressions as, "have some, there's lots there, I've got thousands." Of the many outings that I have participated in, an over-abundance of food was the norm and the food items that are held in highest esteem are those considered traditional foods such as the different types of preserved fish. On the surface this reflects the selflessness of the Newfoundland character. But there is an underlying purpose as well.

In his paper titled "Anatomy of Envy," George Foster maintains that food sharing is actually driven by the fear of being envied. He states: "Real hospitality, the actual sharing of food, also alleviates the fear that one's good fortune is envied" (Foster, 181). Though he is referring to meals other than outdoor boil-ups, there is reason to suspect that this may loosely apply to this very informal meal situation. As members of a rural society, hunters are influenced by what they consider to be expected social behaviours. Melvin Firestone notes that,

"...in all societies there must be some techniques by which individuals can articulate their own actions with those of their fellow men. In societies characterized by intimate face to face relations the need for such mechanisms is particularly acute. This is so because the individual's total self tends to be immersed in a single uniform social milieu and how he performs in all his roles may be known about by most members of his local society. (111)

He continues to point out that, "Egalitarianism is also significant here as it precludes interaction in terms of a façade of superordinate and subordinate relationships: one must get on 'man to man' with no formalities of position that would make for the isolation of social distance" (Firestone, 112). Not only does this indicate that to remain in a social setting one can not deviate from the social stratum, but also that one's actions will be influenced by what one *perceives* is an expectation of the group. Foster's assertion that: "...people hope to hold on to what they have, but they are reluctant to advance beyond

their peers because of the sanctions they know will be levelled against them" (169), could also read "...what they *think* will be levelled against them." Ironically, this pressure is actually self-inflicted over an assumption about what others are thinking. In other words, if I had a food item that I felt would be considered a treat by the others, I would feel the need to offer it to avoid the envy of the rest of the hunters, even though there would, in all likelihood, be no envy on their parts. Related to this, if I were offered some of another person's lunch, I would almost certainly accept it even if I didn't want it. By offering and/or accepting food, the hunter is cementing his identity with the group and the tradition.

3.5 Bull First

From the moment the moose is sighted an air of seriousness immediately pervades, no matter what lightheartedness ensued up to that point. If the licence is for a bull or calf only, then the gender must be determined, a sometimes difficult task depending on the distance and the amount of daylight. In the event that it fits the licence, a shot will be made. If the licence allows either sex and a cow and a bull are in sight, an intriguing phenomenon will almost certainly come into play, the tradition of choosing the bull over the cow, even if the cow is bigger. In the event that only a cow appears, though an attempt would be legal, it is not always forthcoming. Many times a hunter will wait for a shot at a bull. John Omohundro reports observing two hunters on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland who had an either sex licence but wanted a large bull for its trophy value (203-4). He went on to say that "they ignored several cows until they sighted the bull they wanted."

All of my informants indicated a preference for the bull. When asked about their preference for a bull over a cow, all three generations of Hiscocks responded without any

hesitation that their choice would be the bull. Henry, the grandfather, stated, "...ask anybody...something about it...if a bull comes out...", and shrugged to indicate that there was no need for discussion as it was a foregone conclusion. Harry Smith emphasized that the first moose he killed was a big bull with twenty-three or twenty-four points. He informed me that this was a tradition that his sons have inherited. And if a bull moose is the traditional choice for hunters then there is the inevitable demand for the symbolic trophy-- his antlers (sometimes referred to as the "rack"). Max Piercey and Arch Langer were also unanimous in selecting a bull if a choice were given, and again when asked why, the response was, "the rack." Derek Peddle has often anticipated getting a bull with a prize rack. Though said in jest to his son who was leaving to go hunting, "Don't shoot anything less than twenty points," it was certainly meant to influence the young man's decision of what to shoot. Even Bill Balsom, who is adamant that his group will always choose the larger, whether it be a bull or a cow, conceded, "... unless it's a twenty-eight point bull - then the bull."

The adult males of the deer family have been the traditional targets of hunters in other areas of North America. Such is the case in Northern Ontario as reported by Richard Hummel in his book, *Hunting and Fishing for Sport: Commerce, Controversy, Popular Culture*, when he states "...bulls are traditional targets of hunters"(81). Jason E. McCutcheon in *The Culture of Hunting in Canada* agrees. He states: "When hunting, it is animal against animal, so to speak" and continues to explain that when the buck is in rutting season, the danger is intensified thus adding to the challenge (McCutcheon, 14). In early autumn season when the moose are mating, bulls are extremely aggressive. If given the correct call, the bull will respond by approaching the source of the sound and will not be deterred. This was reflected in some of my informants' views. Jamie

described, with hyperbolic emphasis, the adrenalin rush upon hearing a bull moose advancing towards him when called. "The big rack [antlers]? That's nothing! I called one out one time, what a feeling! You could hear your heart beating." At this point his father added solemnly, "He's not joking." In an article written by Simon Bronner titled "This Is Why We Hunt: Social-Psychological Meanings of the Traditions and Rituals of Deer Camp," he cites Wegner describing similar reactions when aiming at a deer to shoot referring to it as "buck fever" with such symptoms as "Your heart speeds up, your temples pound, and your arms and legs weaken" (26). To quote Keith Smith when summing up the danger of a bull approaching in response to being called by the hunter, "the word 'no' is not in his vocabulary, and neither is the word 'gentle.'"

There appears to exist in some areas a natural urge for competition among hunters in the wild. Firestone recognized this in the Newfoundland community of Savage Cove. He quotes a local community member who told him: "Men are always competing with each other in terms of who gets the most fish, rabbits, game, and almost anything else that they do.... If you were slow by the time you got there they'd be boilin' the kettle and they'd say, 'Ah, we beat you.'" He found such competition mostly a matter of relative accomplishment. "If, for example, a man were to return from rabbit catching and encounter a number of men who had also been at the same task, found out that he had done worse than all of them, he would still feel good after encountering only one individual who he had beaten" (Firestone, 120). That competition in Heart's Content is more toward playful teasing. A hunter may inwardly take pride in shooting the largest bull but would never verbalize it. In fact, the real competitive aspect felt by the hunters in my study is between the hunter and the bull.

Many have recognized this as part of their personae as hunters. Derek considers hunting a bull as a competition to see who is smarter in the wild. Wylie Parrott maintains that the bull is chosen because it is about man's domination over the animal and goes further to say that antlers are symbolic of that domination. This supports Bronner's view that hunting large game is primarily a combat between males. He states: "The structure of ritual male combats apply to hunting bucks as a competition" and adds: "From the hunter's viewpoint, which differs from the anti-hunter's, the man derives a sense of satisfaction from vanquishing a stronger, more dangerous foe" (Bronner, 35, 36).

My own set of moose antlers, from a nine-point bull, is displayed in my shed over a window. It was from a moose I killed in the Northwest Gander area in the mid 1980s. The bull weighed slightly less than 400 pounds after being dressed. The next bull I shot was larger still weighing over 450 pounds when dressed. Unfortunately, the shot that killed it actually separated the antlers which had an impressive sixteen points. I was so keen on mounting this rack that I tried different ways to rejoin them, including a steel bolt, but to no avail. Such was my need to show off this prize and, while it may have been a somewhat conceited desire on my part, it was a tradition I had adopted.

It appears that this competition is a symbol for masculinity. Simon Bronner cites Dundes who maintains "men tend to feel compelled to prove their masculinity repeatedly" (35). This is evident in Newfoundland hunting but not always for this reason. Newfoundland is mainly a rural society where most of its inhabitants can travel by foot to hunt within minutes. St. John's, the provincial capital and largest municipality in Newfoundland, is the only truly urban centre in the province. Its population can easily feel removed from the rural activities found in the other communities around the bay both large and small. Many hunters, who were born and now live in St. John's, travel to

hunting camps in different areas of the province usually once a year to hunt moose.

Similar to the hunting camp in Bronner's study, there is a great deal of camaraderie and play with practical jokes, darts, card games and the like as well as excessive drinking. By escaping their urban environment they may feel the need of, and are presented with, the opportunity to affirm their masculinity.

In rural Newfoundland, the choice of the bull is actually a synecdoche for a larger identity issue. For hunters from Around the Bay in a strong hunting culture, affirming manliness for masculinity's sake is not the issue. Of the twelve informants with whom I worked, eleven represent a microcosm of rural Newfoundland moose hunters. They spend or have spent their entire adult life working with their hands in outdoor conditions, mostly fishing (the terms fishing and fishery in Newfoundland traditionally referred to the practice of going out in the bay fishing all day from small crafts approximately twenty to thirty feet long and returning home each day with the catch; today it refers to fishing from longliners staying sometimes at sea for four to six days at a time) but heavy construction work as well. Most of these men demonstrate their masculinity daily. For them, there is the need to exercise their masculinity and this is motivated by tradition as much as self esteem. As stated earlier, past survival required unqualified social interaction. But early settlement also demanded immense endurance, physical, mental, and emotional. Newfoundland hunters are very much aware and proud of that heritage and in essence try to emulate it. To connect with this past, hunters feel the need to demonstrate that they are of the same mettle as their forefathers.

These displays of masculinity may be manifested in several ways. Most deal with endurance and adaptability. For one thing, the topography of Newfoundland is extremely challenging with many large rocks, boulders, boglands, hills, barrens, and dense wooded

areas with poor soil causing much windfall and rotting stumps. This type of terrain is as challenging on an ATV as it is walking but is common habitat for moose. Hunters have to contend with this each time they hunt which requires much stamina. In many instances, hunters, especially younger ones, seek the most demanding terrain as a test of manhood. As well, when staying in a cabin, the comforts of home are often compromised and sleeping on floors or on sofas in hunting clothes is not uncommon. Again, many hunters, young or old, will volunteer to take the floor or sofa instead of a bed that may be available.

Interestingly, meals eaten in the woods would not even be considered at home. Oftentimes hunters will relax their sanitary standards when having a lunch outdoors and, for that matter, in the cabin if necessary. For example, the ubiquitous cup of tea at home that is taken with cream and sugar will often be taken in the woods as "switchel" (tea without these condiments), and more often than not, be inadvertently flavoured with bough sprinkles (needles from evergreen trees). When noticed, it usually draws the comment, "That'll only give it taste."

Finally, quite often excessive drinking (of liquids other than tea) is the norm with the objective being to see how much one can consume and still retain full control of one's faculties. The next morning, a display of enthusiasm for the hunt, often demanding much effort, will most certainly be evident regardless of the physical condition of the hunter.

3.6 The Kill

The kill itself is the climax of the day's hunt. Most hunters aim and fire for the front or fore shoulder of the moose because that is where vital organs, the heart and lungs, are located and it affords the largest target area. The down-side of this is that the animal may not die or fall down instantly but run a considerable distance before it

expires. That could involve the exhausting necessity of tracking the moose through some very demanding terrain for most of the day and still being unsuccessful in finding the animal. Some hunters try for a head kill to avoid this occurring though the target is slightly smaller.

With the shot(s) fired, there is a moment of waiting to see if the moose will fall, stagger, or run out of sight. The moment the animal falls down, the relief is palpable. As one of my resource hunters, Max Piercey, emphasized, "When you got the moose down. You know there's a good time coming. Big relief."

In rural Newfoundland, the merriment begins almost immediately with teasing and ribbing. Conspicuously absent in hunting traditions in Newfoundland are the elements of bragging and congratulatory actions. In the event that a moose is taken, we are presented with an intriguing communicative dichotomy. After the moose is down, no verbalized bragging is forthcoming; in fact, if a man is asked if he has been successful, the feat is acknowledged with modesty, often attributing it to good luck. However, after the carcass has been transported to, and hung in, the shed, the door is left open for all to see, and in the event of it being a bull, the rack of antlers, often still attached to the head, is left outside to display to all that the owner has been successful in shooting a moose.

In my hunting experiences, I have never witnessed any congratulatory actions such as a handshake or a slap on the back for taking a moose. Newfoundlanders are not given to expressing what I term "soft" emotions indicating weakness nor are they admiring of formality. Rarely among hunters in Heart's Content will a successful shot be recognized with any congratulatory ceremony, unless there is a CFA (a recent Newfoundland term for those who have "come from away") in the group. This is too formal and to do so would be akin to "putting on airs." Many of the older generation of

Newfoundlanders, or someone from almost any rural area, would be embarrassed if one of their own congratulated the gunner on a good shot. More often than not, among close friends, one would be teased for almost missing and given exaggerated criticism or feigned sarcasm for a good shot as Max, a fisherman, indicated when asked about rituals in his hunting experiences: "Not like they do on television. We'd torment them if it was a bad shot. If they don't miss, we'll say, 'Well, you got that quarter spoiled.' No shaking hands or anything like that."

To illustrate this point, I was successful in taking a moose on one occasion but had to fire more than the expected number of bullets to bring it down. I kept missing and emptied my clip which held five bullets. (In my defense I later discovered that the sights were not accurate). In any case I had one bullet left in my pocket, so I put it in the chamber and fired in the general direction of the moose as it started to walk away untouched up to that point. By sheer luck, I hit it in the head and it fell to the ground. When the rest of the hunting party arrived after hearing the shots subside, I told them I had a moose down and they immediately informed me that the death of the animal was caused either by fright or shell shock.

When the moose is down the usual comment is "Now comes the hard part," referring to the paunching. Understandably not for the fastidious among us, this involves the removal of the internal organs. If the moose is not lying on a down grade with its posterior downward, then all efforts will be made to arrange it, if possible, so that the internal organs will "roll out" when disconnected from the interior. Then, either someone will hold the legs apart or a rope will be used to tie the legs apart on each side of the animal. The throat is cut to sever the esophagus and the trachea and then the carcass is opened up by cutting down the full length of the stomach from the cut in the throat to its

anus. Getting hands and arms bloodied is inevitable since one must reach in around the stomach sack and other organs to disconnect them by cutting the membrane that joins them to the interior. If it is a bull, great care must be taken not to cut or puncture the reproductive organs which would leave a strong musky aroma and affect the taste of the meat. When all is disconnected it is rolled out on the ground and left there for scavengers. The heart, and sometimes the tongue, are usually taken home with the rest of the meat. In the event it is a bull, the head is almost certain to be taken home.



Plate 5. Passing on the tradition. The author and his son, Shannon, who proudly displays his first moose kill. Note the head removed for transport home.

Interestingly, the blood on the arms and hands is often demonstrated to anyone who was not present when the moose was paunched as an indication that the hunt was

successful. On several occasions I witnessed a person hold up bloodied hands in response to the question, "Did you get him?"

At one time women would find the hunt distasteful and many still do, but never enough to oppose it outright. Many women apply for a licence and though they are often successful in obtaining a moose licence, it doesn't mean they do the shooting. Though the licences may be in their names, and with a scope on the rifle the challenge is less likely to result in a missed shot, most women find the kick of the discharge too difficult to contend with. Since they do not have to discharge a firearm in the hunter capability test, that difficulty is eliminated if they have someone else shoot the animal. In some cases it is difficult to determine how many women actually shoot the animal because of obvious legalities if they are forthcoming about someone else shooting it for them.

However, in tight-knit hunting communities, it is common knowledge that most female hunters will not actually shoot the moose. Consequently, there are three scenarios regarding female licence holders. In rare instances, a female hunter will shoot a moose and require assistance from a male partner to paunch it. Two other scenarios are much more common. In one, a woman with a moose licence in her name will accompany an experienced male hunter and if a moose is spotted, he will aim and shoot at the animal. If successful, they both will paunch it with the male hunter taking the lead role. Often a rope will be attached to the esophagus and the woman will help detach the internal organs from the carcass. In the other common scenario, the female licence holder will stay home or at the cabin and give the licence to the male hunters. If they are successful in bringing down a moose, one of the hunters will go and get the woman to be present when the moose is being paunched, possibly helping if it has not already been done. Both these methods are obviously forms of poaching but rarely result in charges laid and

prosecution. It appears that these poaching practices are becoming the norm especially considering that more blatant forms of poaching are socially acceptable in, and culturally part of, Newfoundland (McGrath, *From Red Ochre*, 64-72).

3.7 Transporting the Moose

After the paunching, the amount of work involved to get it home depends, of course, upon where exactly the kill occurred. If close to a road, then it will be transported home without much difficulty. At the other extreme, if shot far from a road and in a location not easily accessible by an ATV, then it becomes much more laborious, meaning a boat may have to be used and/or a path cut to the animal to allow an ATV to get to it. Today, even though the labour is greatly decreased through the use of motorized saws, getting the moose out still requires hard work. If the moose is large, it will be quartered at the location it was killed if possible. Quartering the animal in the woods is usually done with a small bucksaw or handsaw but a battery-operated reciprocating saw is being used more frequently. If possible, it will be cut only in half, separating the front quarters from the hind ones, and put on the rack of an ATV or in a cart towed by it. A great deal depends upon the terrain and the hunters' preference of a cart or the racks. It would not be uncommon to see the head of the moose, especially a bull, transported in a conspicuous fashion such as on the roof or bonnet of a truck.

When hunting from home is successful, the meat is usually transported home on the day it is killed with the hide still on it to avoid dirt getting on the meat and because a gallows (a wooden structure), or somewhere else for hanging the meat, is more convenient for skinning the quarters. Normally, cheesecloth is not used unless it is warm enough for flies to be present after the meat is skinned. The meat is usually hung in a

shed or a personal garage where it may be quartered with a saw and washed immediately after it is skinned.

3.8 Cleaning

While it is being cleaned, beer or liquor is usually consumed in a celebratory manner. In many cases, neighbours and acquaintances will drop by, having been made aware of the event by the doors being open or the light on in the building, the mud-covered vehicles in the driveway, and the head conspicuously outside. They normally pass comment on the size of the animal and always in a positive manner: something to the effect that it's a "good-sized moose" (if it is) or, in the event that it is a small moose saying that "it's just right for eating." They may be offered a drink or beer but unless they are very close acquaintances or part of the hunting party, it is usually declined. It is not uncommon to see some of the bigger children helping out with the skinning if they are old enough to handle a sharp knife or help clean the excess hair off the meat. The talk will deal with moose hunting in general as well as how the moose was sighted and shot, how far it ran or that it dropped down where it was. This will be repeated to any new visitor who drops in along with a description of the difficulty of getting it out or exclamations of how easy it was to access. The hide is disposed off in the local garbage dump or in a rarely frequented area in the woods where it will become food for scavengers. The loose hair is removed with a bucket of cold water and cloths or a brush.

When the competition is over and the hunter is the victor, the trophy will be removed and needless to say, the larger the antlers, the greater the prestige. They will be removed after much difficulty, sometimes requiring a chainsaw to separate them from the head, and displayed in a conspicuous fashion. For the first few days they will be left in a place for all to see, normally outside the shed especially if they are an impressive size.

Eventually, they will be either mounted on the outside of the shed or inside, though if smaller, they may be eventually discarded. Often the antlers are left on the head to be displayed in a conspicuous location near the street such as the gate post. Regarding the moose my son had taken (Plate 5), a friend of ours placed the head on the garbage bin in front of our home near the street for all to see.

When that is done the rest of the alcohol is consumed. At this point, the hunters may go to their respective homes, clean their tools and weapons and call it a day unless more alcohol is consumed and in that case carousing frequently develops.

3.9 Notching

It may be at this point that we see an interesting tradition. One activity that is performed with ritualistic overtones is the notching of the rifle after a moose has been killed with it. After the moose has been hung either on a gallows or in a building at home, the person who shot the moose will cut a tiny notch on the recoil pad of the gun that killed it. Bill's older .303 rifle had sixteen or seventeen notches, his second gun, a .300 magnum had twenty-three notches, and his current rifle has three notches, all in the recoil pad in each of the guns. Derek Peddle has the same practice. He has twenty-one notches in his most recent rifle, a .243 calibre while his son has a relatively new rifle which had ten notches on it up to the end of the 2006-7 hunting season. These notches would be carved at a time when the owners were alone at the first opportunity either in the afternoon or evening of the kill. Bill attributed this idea to old western television shows in which the gunslinger would notch his gun for every man he killed in a shootout duel. Derek is not sure where he got the idea but his son acquired the idea from Derek. Keith Smith, another of my respondents, informed me that notching was common in the Central Newfoundland area where he hunts extensively.

3.10 Hanging

After skinning and cleaning, the meat may be hung in the shed to age for an extended period of time, depending on the time of year or temperature. In *A Taste of Something Wild* Richard G.M. Gaukerke suggests venison can be hung for up to a week if temperatures are near freezing (107). In Newfoundland, when cool enough, meaning near freezing or temperatures too low for flies, many moose carcasses have been hung for up to ten days. Traditionally, when temperatures were below freezing, quarters would be hung in the shed all winter long and pieces cut off when needed. Some hunters I know will hang the moose quarters for prolonged periods of time in order to reduce the toughness of the meat, although Henry Hiscock, an experienced hunter in his eighties, maintains that moose meat gets tougher the longer it hangs.

In the event that it is relatively warm, and maggot infestation is threatening, it will likely be brought to the meat-cutter to be cut up in meal portions. This may be done immediately but usually it is stored in freezing units until it is frozen stiff which makes it easier to cut. Another reason meat is stored in a freezer is that in Newfoundland, moose is being delivered to the butchers in vast quantities by many hunters. This, along with their usual meats that have to be cut, causes many long hours in the abattoirs and a backlog of moose quarters. In fact, Carl Oliver, a butcher in Heart's Content, will take leave from his employment as a construction worker each fall to cut up meat, ninety-five percent of which is moose, and needs to work seven days a week to not get too far behind!

3.11 Dividing

In the vast majority of cases moose is divided in one of two ways. It may be cut up first and divided evenly, each receiving the same number of choice cuts and similar

cuts as possible. If it can be divided evenly with no difficulty before butchering, such as one moose between four hunters, the members of the party may be given their quarters and they will be responsible for getting them cut up themselves, allowing the hunters to get whatever cuts they prefer. Some hunters freeze it in their own home freezer and cut it up as they need it.

The hunt from home allows for a closer connect with the past since that was the original style of hunting in Newfoundland. Besides the tradition of a "cup of tea in the woods," there is the connection to areas hunted traditionally for not only moose but rabbits and variably caribou by long deceased hunters whose names remain in perpetuity in such locations as Murphy's Gullies, Martin Rowe's Pond and many more. In the event of the gunner's first kill, he will offer a drink or beer to other hunters who drop in to "evaluate" the moose and describe the kill thus establishing his acceptance into the network of hunters.

3.12 From a Cabin

If hunting from a cabin, then the trip there and setting up is the final stage of the preparation. The journey almost invariably involves a pickup truck but may include a car or cars and in the past thirty years or so, all terrain vehicles have become more prominent for use in moose hunting. Used to gain access to locations which are inaccessible by car or truck, they may be transported in the back of a truck but more frequently towed on a trailer since the pan or box of the truck would be used for transporting supplies and presumably the moose carcass on the return trip.

Upon arriving at the cabin, setting up camp is undertaken. The groceries are taken in, the cooler is stored in a shaded area, gasoline is stored, ATVs are filled with fuel and made ready to be taken, and a meal will be prepared by someone in the group who

assumes the role of cook. This individual may be the cook for the whole trip or just for that evening and someone else will cook the next meal. However, the cooking is usually the responsibility of a single individual for the entire trip. If time allows, a hunt will begin but only after the camp is set up.

After setting up camp, the men will hunt if time allows, and have some social refreshments the first evening there. If the arrival at the cabin is before opening day, then a day is usually spent looking for "signs" of moose, indications of recent activity unless one of the hunters in the party had recently been in the area. Invariably, the conversation of the evening before the hunt centres around where to go the following day. Finding moose is the focal point. If this should be the first time in the area, tips, advice, and suggestions from those knowledgeable of the area will be shared with the group. The atmosphere is friendly and relaxed but serious in intent. In most cases, alcohol consumption is modest the first evening.

It should be explained here that hunting parties vary along a continuum from the serious to the not-so-serious. The latter will find any excuse not to travel in the bush, especially if the terrain is rugged. I have known of hunting parties where the hunters drank alcohol and partied all night and were in no condition to hunt the next day. They stayed in bed, got up at lunchtime and ate lunch, felt better and so began drinking again. This is extremely rare as is the group of hunters that do not consume alcohol at all. Another rare type of not-so-serious hunters is the group that will only make half-hearted attempts. These people will hunt only in fine weather and in unchallenging terrain. An example was described by Richard Hummel in his description of a fly-in moose hunting trip in Ontario. The group had been intending to do both hunting and fishing but actually spent most of the time fishing because the hunting was too difficult (80).

3.12.1 Northwest Gander

In the autumn of 2004, I was involved in a hunting trip to the Northwest Gander region in Central Newfoundland approximately five hours away from home. In this case there were eight of us in total and we had two licences to fill: one for two hunters in the group who hunted together, and the other licence belonged to my son and me, though because of a change of employment he could not accompany us. Given the number of woods roads in the area due to the Abitibi Company's logging operations, ATVs would be used much more frequently on this occasion than in the Heart's Content hinterland. Two extended cab pickup trucks each carrying four hunters were used to tow trailers with two ATVs on each one. The cost of fuel for transportation was shared by the hunters travelling in each truck.

On that occasion, one person assumed the responsibility of purchasing all the food necessary for everyone and delivered a bill to each after the hunt was over. A large grey fish vat obtained from a fish plant served as a cooler. There was an abundance of food as indeed would be necessary to feed eight men for a week to ten days. The cabin was equipped with a propane range that had an oven, thus foodstuffs included a turkey, whole chicken, and a ham to be roasted or baked. Alcohol and other personal supplies were the responsibility of each individual.

Upon arrival at the cabin, the supplies were unloaded and there were a couple of hours left to do some hunting before dark. Francis St. George and Jamie Hiscock, one of my source persons, had a licence between them and hunted together, while Derek Peddle, another one of my respondents, accompanied me. Derek's sons, Cory and Dee, set out a line of rabbits snares, and two other men, Derek St. George and Jim Clarke, the owner of this cabin as well, stayed behind doing maintenance and accumulating firewood.

When we arrived back at the camp after a few hours of hunting, we all enjoyed some beer or liquor before supper and some resumed drinking again after a late supper. Again the conversation revolved around moose hunting and the relative scarcity of moose in this area, a common complaint in recent years. The accommodations, from beds to chesterfields were enough for everyone to sleep comfortably. Due to the long day of driving, setting up camp, hunting, the couple of drinks, and the big meal, we all were ready to turn in fairly early.

As I described earlier, we arrived on Tuesday afternoon and hunted for a couple of hours but nothing was seen. For the next three days the pattern of hunting was similar, hunt in the morning, come back to the cabin for lunch, then leave in early afternoon and hunt until dark. The evenings, however, were an opportunity to engage in social interaction. Upon arriving home from hunting around dusk each evening, we would first enjoy a drink or a beer. After a substantial supper, cooked by the person who assumed the role of cook when we first arrived, the rest of us would take turns washing the dishes. This would be followed by a lethargic period of laying around perhaps getting a short nap. Eventually, someone would have another drink or two and a game of cards, always some form of poker, usually "Texas Hold'em," would be set up. On several occasions friends or relatives who were down hunting at another cabin would drop by and have a drink with us. The conversation for the most part would revolve around moose hunting and the different locations which might be investigated the following day, and then arriving at a decision where to go. After that decision had been made, the topic would eventually turn to fishing. Food was always being consumed before and after a meal, many times in the form of leftovers.

For two and a half days both hunting parties went separate ways hunting but without seeing anything until Friday morning. We saw a male and a female and had several shots at the bull but were too far away to get a good shot. We investigated the ground where they had been but no trace of blood told us that it had not been hit. Jamie and Francis saw nothing as well until Friday afternoon when they saw and shot a moose. The next morning we returned to the location where we had seen the moose the previous day but without luck.

When we returned to the cabin for lunch, I decided to travel about two or three kilometres up the road to get a signal for the cell phone and call home. On my way back, I saw and shot a moose. It was on the road side of the ditch when I saw it. I stepped out of my truck and told myself not to panic, but as I reached inside the cab for the gun and the bullets, the panic mode on the truck key in my pocket pressed against the seat and suddenly the horn started blowing and the lights started flashing. I thought the moose would be scared away for sure. It didn't but just stayed there as if it were wondering what was going on. I finally got the noise to stop and aimed the gun at the moose and fired. It collapsed dead.

At that point I realized I had no knife to paunch it so I jumped aboard the truck and sped back to the cabin about two to three kilometres away. I told those there that I needed help because I had a moose down on the side of the road. They responded immediately and were there almost as quickly as I was. I began to paunch it after we had it turned around to an easier position for field dressing but Derek St. George commenced to paunch it before I had started. When I said that he didn't have to do it and that it was my job, he insisted on doing it saying that he was more used to it than I was and it had to

be done before any traffic came and road dust got in the meat. In approximately twenty minutes we had the quarters back to the cabin and hung up ready for skinning.

That night we visited other friends who were staying in their cabin and needless to say a party ensued. It being Remembrance Day weekend, most of the cabin owners would be closing their cabins for the winter and going home so the idea was to end the hunting season with a bang. Then the rest of the hunters went to another party but I returned to our cabin.

The next day was Sunday and hunting for small game with firearms was prohibited so the day was spent recuperating from the night before for some, and relaxing, or taking in the scenery by exploring different trails for others. That afternoon a game of horseshoes was played along with the usual consumption of alcoholic beverages. That evening we sat inside and played cards but on this evening I decided to cut some meat from my moose and "put on a fry" to the delight of everyone there. Friends from other cabins dropped in as they frequently did and moose sightings and the fishery were again the main topics of conversation not surprising considering that except Francis and me, everyone else staying at our cabin were fishermen as were many of our visitors. We had planned to stay until Tuesday but on the following day, Monday, the weather forecast predicted a heavy snowfall for the area in which we were at the time. Consequently, we packed everything up and left for home.

3.12.2 Millertown

In the fall of 2006, I approached Bill Balsom to see if I would be permitted to join his hunting party as an observer. After checking with his group I was given the go-ahead to join them. They arrived on Friday of the Thanksgiving weekend and I was to join them the following Tuesday. On Monday evening, Bill called to inform me that they had

killed a moose that afternoon and decided to leave it in the woods because it was too dark to transport it after the field dressing. If I were still planning to join them, they would leave it there until I arrived and went with them to retrieve it. I assured them I would be there by mid-day which I was.

When I arrived Bill introduced me to the members I had not met before, and I then renewed friendships with those I had known. The group included new faces such as Cyril Hicks, retired woods worker and the owner of the cabin; David Balsom, forestry worker and Bill's nephew; Karl Bruff Jr., nicknamed "Doc" due to his being a medical doctor; and former acquaintances Gary Hindy, retired finance company manager, now living in Nova Scotia; as well as Tom Biddiscombe, retired mechanic; Don Peddle, Department of Fisheries and Oceans employee; and Karl Bruff Sr., retired businessman, all living in the St. John's area.

The cabin measuring approximately twenty-four feet by twenty feet was situated on the shores of a lake and surrounded by deciduous and coniferous trees. It was entered through a porch which held foodstuffs and other supplies. It had a kitchen with a large propane stove, a woodstove and a propane refrigerator. The living area was open to the kitchen and was amply furnished with chesterfields and large sofa chairs. A large window faced the lake with a patio adjacent to that side of the building. Off the living area were two bedrooms each room containing four single bunks and a washroom with a flush toilet and shower. There was also an outdoor toilet about seventy-five metres from the cabin. We had a drink followed by some lunch. They had already taken one moose and it was quartered and hung on the gallows.

After lunch we mounted our ATVs and proceeded to the location of the downed moose. It was a sunny fall day and relatively warm but being October the temperature

was low overnight, around 0 to +1C so the carcass had been left there "boughed over" (covered with boughs to keep scavengers from getting at it).

To get the ATVs to the actual location a path had to be cut so Bill and Don went ahead with chainsaws clearing the way. Though paunched, it was not cut in sections so a battery-powered reciprocating saw was produced and in short order the carcass was halved and then quartered by as well as removing the bottom part of the legs near the knee joints referred to as "knucks." The mood was jovial and at one point Karl put a hoof over the moose's head to make it appear that it was scratching its head. The quarters were put on the racks of two bikes, one on the front and one on the back, and tied securely in place. The bikes made their way slowly through the woods on the cleared path in low gear until they reached the main path.

We arrived at the gallows near the cabin at approximately 4 p.m. and immediately hung the quarters to be skinned. The gallows had been erected in a clearing approximately one hundred metres from the cabin and open to the lake. This allowed the wind off the lake to get at the meat and keep it cool thus greatly reducing the number of flies and hence maggots on the meat. Some beer was brought out while the meat was being cleaned but none was consumed while the process of cleaning was ongoing. Incidentally, as the meat was being cleaned, Don noticed a hole with some maggots on one of the quarters. It proved to be a bullet hole from two days previous when he had shot a bull and thought he missed it. He had actually hit it in the front quarter and broken its leg but reported that he had no indication that he hit it since it kept on running as if it wasn't hit. Karl, who shot the moose the next day, remarked that it was lying down when he saw it and had plenty of time to shoot as it arose. Of course, this led to the ribbing that Don, a "bayman" (a person who grew up in one of the outposts) had to help a resident of



Plate 6. Quarters hung on the gallows ready to be skinned.

St. John's referred to as a "townie" get his moose, or that he shoots moose that are already half dead. The maggots had to be removed so they cut out the inflamed area that fortunately hadn't had time to spread.

Other light banter was the order of the day as the skinning continued. By now everyone was getting hungry and anticipating the supper that Cyril Hicks, the owner of the cabin, was preparing so the conversation dealt with his role in the hunting party. He had assumed the duty of cook and cooked for them, each meal being quite substantial. They could eat when they wanted for there were always leftovers. Bill declared that the

cook was an important part of every hunting party. Don testified to Cyril's cooking by stating: "Cyril is some cook, buddy. He could put a taste on a rubber boot."

After the quarters were skinned and cleaned, cheesecloth socks pulled over them and tied securely to prevent flies from getting at the meat, the men decided it was time for a beer. We opened one each and as we stood near the quarters, they explained that the eight quarters were connected by a rope to keep them from swinging. This had happened previously on a windy night and the quarters were swinging in the wind to the extent that the rope by which they were tied to the gallows had chafed and snapped on two of the quarters and they fell to the ground.

We walked back to the cabin to discover that Gary had teasingly hidden the rum we intended to drink before supper. Eventually we found it and had a couple of drinks each before we sat down to a substantial and delicious meal of baked ham and vegetables accompanied with dessert. I brought in some foodstuffs I had purchased on the way such as chicken legs, bologna and pork chops and potatoes but Cyril told me to put it back in my truck and "sit down to supper with the boys." He then used the old common expression in Newfoundland welcoming me to eat all I wanted when he stated: "Now, John my son, take hold." One of the hunters from a near-by cabin who dropped in for a chat with Bill declared to me, "I'll guarantee you one thing, you won't go out of it hungry around here." This was certainly the case, thus contributing to the legacy of the over abundance of food.

After supper other hunters from the cabin next door, with whom Bill and his party had become quite acquainted, came in and there was a period of sitting around chatting, catching up on news about old friends, talking about moose, and again fishing, though only two of the eleven men in the cabin were fishermen, both of whom were staying at

the cabin nearby. The members of the group with whom I was previously acquainted filled me in on past hunting trips. They told stories of moose they had taken over the years, the misses and the times when they almost failed to fill a licence, getting the moose on the last day and other yarns. All the conversations were interspersed with ribbing and teasing about past shortcomings and assigning blame. The stories were all in the form of personal experience narratives and short anecdotes, virtually all humorous in nature. They informed me of their practice of making the young boys, sons who have accompanied them over the years, carry the rabbits caught in a day as a sort of initiation. Apparently on several occasions some of the boys would accompany their fathers on the holiday weekend and besides hunting moose they would set rabbit snares. When checking the approximately one hundred slips, it would not be uncommon to catch twenty rabbits in one day. The hunters would assign the task of lugging the rabbits back to camp to the boys who would labour under the weight of twenty rabbits for most of the day. As well, there were stories of misfortune that had become the topic of merriment and teasing such as burning toast, not being able to catch rabbits, and Gary's pranks such as hiding the rum and Sunday's episode of hiding everyone's boots and outer clothes.

Neighbours from the cabin next door visited, as they frequently did, bringing leftover food or something special such as fresh crab meat. Thus the first night I was there was spent becoming acquainted over some social drinking. Bill had informed them beforehand that I would be bringing my guitar. When I had approached Bill about conducting field work on their trip, the stipulations were to bring a bottle of scotch for Cyril and my guitar, meaning I would have to entertain them by playing and singing, a



Plate 7. Pranks, such as a nailed boot, are common in many hunting camps.

fair deal indeed. At first the tape deck was playing recorded Newfoundland and country music but eventually I relented to appeals to play some songs. Therefore, the first night was filled with merriment and music, requests for contemporary Newfoundland songs being the order of the day, which they apparently enjoyed, attesting to the easy-to-please reputation of the Newfoundlander. Since the two moose licences had been filled, there was no more serious hunting to be done so the carousing continued until the early hours of the morning.

The next day I was informed that we would all go on an excursion to an out-of-the-way location called Pine Falls. We were going for the day, so we would boil the kettle. I had taken my ATV so Gary rode with me for the two-hour drive on a trail that became increasingly rough as we went. We had our guns in the event we saw some small game on the way and we were successful in getting thirteen grouse.

We arrived around noon at a beautiful serene spot on a river that had a grassy area with large sparsely spread birch trees on one side of the river and thick boreal forest on the other. In between was a waterfall dropping, we estimated, about ten to twelve feet over rocks to a large pool with the flat tops of rocks above the water on both sides of the river. We lit a fire and boiled the slut and had tea with some dried salted capelin roasted in the fire with beans and the usual homemade white bread. At the campfire as we sat around drinking our tea after lunch, Gary remarked: "all you'd want is a loaf of bread to stay here," voicing the appreciation of all of us for this idyllic setting.

Later in the afternoon around five o'clock we arrived back at the cabin in time for a drink before supper. However, our alcohol was becoming depleted so a beer-run had to be made. Being the beneficiary of the group's efforts, I offered to drive the half hour to Millertown for beer and liquor, accompanied by the two youngest of the group, David and Doc.

I was informed that evening there was a game of darts scheduled that took place on every Wednesday night of the trip with players from both cabins. This had been ongoing for as long as they could remember. Players played in teams of two intermixed between the hunters of the two cabins, each player contributing five dollars to the kitty with the winners taking the pot. Ostensibly, the intermixing of teams was governed by the unequal numbers of hunters in both cabins. I suggest there may be another factor involved.

The intermixing of teams is traditional in other hunting endeavours. John Scott described the tradition of games played by men on the ice floes at the seal hunt during down time when vessels became stuck in ice. Men from different ships there would organize games of football (soccer) and choose teams by intentionally mixing the players

from different vessels, done to avoid the competition becoming too serious (65). Though it was obvious that the occupants of both cabins had developed strong ties of friendship over the years, they were following this traditional motivation for intermixing teams, the objective being to avoid seriousness but more importantly to reaffirm those friendships. Despite the fact that they were playing for money (minimal as it may have been), the games were characterized by camaraderie and fun.

There was drinking and singing followed by taped music when the dart game began. As in the evening before, there was an abundance of food for snacks and beer, liquor and wine. The conversations were light though with sombre undertones when the topic of fishing arose, which frequently occurred. As the evening progressed, the carousing increased and inhibitions were almost non-existent until about four o'clock in morning when most people went to bed.

I arose the next morning, Thursday, to prepare for the return trip home. When I told them of my plans to do so, they encouraged me to stay longer but I informed them I had a class to attend on Friday morning. I had a hearty breakfast with them as they talked of their plans to check their rabbit slips and take them up since they would be returning home the next day. After breakfast, I called Bill aside and informed him that I would be leaving the foodstuffs I brought and sought his advice when to give Cyril the bottle of scotch I had for him. He had advised me beforehand to wait until I was ready to leave to give him the bottle because if I presented him with it upon arrival, he would feel obliged to open it then and there and share it with me and everyone else which was unnecessary since everybody had their own supply. At that point Bill gave me a couple of the rabbits they had caught to take home. When I had everything packed aboard my truck, I went in to say good-bye to everyone and thank them for their support and hospitality and to

present Cyril with the bottle of scotch. He refused at first telling me "You didn't have to do that," but I insisted so he relented and accepted it. After thanking everyone again and especially Cyril for allowing me to stay at his cabin, I left with mixed emotions. I felt the obligation to be in class the next day and to do so I had to leave at that time. However, for the first hour of driving I questioned my decision to leave such pleasant surroundings.

Community values are reflected in the social etiquette of a hunting group. The sharing of food at a boil-up when there is more than adequate is a transfer of traditional hospitality from the home to the hunting environment in the wild. When one visits a household in Newfoundland, especially in the outports, food will be offered whether it be part of the meal at mealtime or a lunch at any other time. At the boil-up, a hunter will offer whatever he has to others in the group, particularly if it is traditional fare.

Not only does it address the perceived potential envy of the others as discussed earlier, it provides what he considers a treat. I recall a story about a clergyman who was making his rounds to small outport fishing communities in Newfoundland that had no permanent minister. As was the custom, in each of these communities a home was arranged to provide the minister with meals and lodging on the evening before his church service. He arrived at the designated house one Saturday afternoon, was welcomed, shown to his room, and informed that his evening meal would be sent up shortly, it being near suppertime. When they brought it to him, it consisted of store-bought bread, cheese, and corned beef and he was then left to his meal in solitude. However, when he arrived he distinctly remembered smelling pea soup in the kitchen and noticing a large stockpot on the stove. He guessed they were probably having leftover pea soup for their supper so went down to the kitchen and asked if he could have supper with them because he would like to have some pea soup, an unusual and unexpected request to say the least.

At that time rural Newfoundlanders assumed that officials and professionals such as a clergyman would prefer store-bought foodstuffs to traditional fare. People in outport communities such as Heart's Content have learned that in today's society, especially in urban areas, traditional foods have become uncommon in most households and consequently a treat for many. By extension, hunters are acutely aware of this as well and that at a boil-up there may be someone present who doesn't have the traditional fare for a cup of tea in the woods. This, of course, is motivated by the traditional practice of sharing and social etiquette.

In the cabin setting as well, there are identifiable rules of etiquette and expectations of behaviour. Some have clear lines of demarcation such as when to drink, or more specifically when not to drink. As well, one is expected to do his share of work not assigned to any particular individual. There are more subtle expectations such as a newcomer to a group volunteering to go "above and beyond." For example, during the Millertown fieldwork, when the beer ran low, I immediately offered to do a beer run. By doing so, I was demonstrating my appreciation for their permitting me to observe them on their hunting trip.

When I first contacted Bill about observing their cabin trip, I inquired as to what I should bring. It was at that point I was informed of the fact that I should bring a bottle of liquor for Cyril and specifically scotch because as Bill put it, "We all bring him a bottle of scotch so it might be a good idea for you to bring one as well." Not only was my presentation of the bottle of scotch to the cabin owner an expectation but it was important that I give it at the appropriate time, as I was leaving. Though it was received with the traditional expression, "You didn't have to do that," I knew, as did everyone there, that it was an expectation.

Sharing remains the central feature in the social interaction even in the event of an unsuccessful hunt. The hunting community will report any sightings of moose to unlucky hunters and when the season is over for them other ways of procuring moose become available. Successful hunters will realize the anticipated sharing of a meal of moose, the dominant tradition of the social network among hunters, long after the hunt is over.

CHAPTER 4

THE POST HUNT

Hunters who hunt from their homes and come to the end of the season with no moose, are in the minority. When the end of the season arrives and no moose is taken, it will be regarded as "the year that we never got our moose." If shared expenses are involved, it is normally handled on a day-to-day basis, otherwise the settling of accounts is usually addressed quickly giving closure to the hunting season.

4.1 No Moose

When hunting from a cabin, the time to end the trip will quickly approach especially if one is unsuccessful in his hunting. For a hunting trip at a cabin and no moose, alternatives may be considered. For some hunters or parties of hunters, a longer stay than planned is the only viable solution, the expense of extra food and supplies a more attractive alternative than going home and returning at another date; for others, another trip, much more serious and focussed, will be necessary in an attempt to get a moose. For those who are working from Monday to Friday, an all-night driving session after work on Friday may be called for to be in the woods on the first Saturday morning possible to start another full-fledged hunting trip. If again unsuccessful, subsequent trips may be made until a moose is taken or the season ends with no moose.

In any event, squaring up or settling accounts is inevitable. For those sharing the costs involved, one person is usually responsible for tabulating the expenses, and shortly after the hunting is over each member will be notified either orally of how much is owed or a written statement will be provided. For the unsuccessful hunters, this provides closure for the trip but not necessarily for the season.

Emotions vary when one has a licence but is unsuccessful in the moose hunt. Besides the disappointment, for some there is a feeling of embarrassment at not getting a moose, if not shame. This would apply to younger hunters more than seasoned ones. I say this because rarely do experienced hunters not fill their moose licence. For example none of my informants ever saw the season close with no moose for a licence in their names. Among less experienced hunters it occurs, myself being one of them. I remember the feeling of embarrassment when asked whether or not I had been successful.

As in all aspects of failure, it is felt more by the unsuccessful hunter than those around him. In fact, when getting near the end of the season, other hunters will offer to help. Many men are in the woods cutting firewood in the fall and frequently see moose. They and others will keep a lookout from the roads or in the trails for "signs" of moose and relay the information to the unsuccessful hunter. Word of a sighting spreads quickly among the network of hunters in the community and at least one of them will pass the information on to the empty licence holder.

4.2 Options

In the event that hunters are faced with the prospect of having no moose, this is due to one of two reasons. Either they were unsuccessful in obtaining a licence or unsuccessful in the hunt. Understandably, hunting parties consisting of only two individuals get more moose when their licence is filled, normally half a moose each, but only in those years when they have a licence. Having only two in a party on a licence is often set up this way for a father and son or a man and wife to hunt together and has its advantages such as more flexibility in scheduling and more moose when successful. But as explained earlier, they will get a licence only twice in four or five years, consequently

they have years with no moose. For years such as these, there are two avenues to follow to obtain moose meat for the winter, legal and illegal.

A legal route to follow would be to help a friend or another person hunt and get a moose. Usually a person who does this has knowledge of an area frequented by moose and acts as a guide though not taking money for the service. An individual may be of some valuable help in transporting a downed moose such as providing an ATV or a vehicle used for woods operations, providing a cabin to stay in, or be of vital assistance in another way. If successful, he will be offered a share, either a quarter or half a moose. In the event that a person receives a substantial amount of moose meat from someone, he usually requests a note explaining the gift in case wildlife officials should check.

Yet another option which is perfectly legal is that of "lending quarters." To illustrate this, my son and I apply for a moose licence individually but hunt together. If successful, the moose is for my household and his. This has seen us with an over-abundance of moose in some years and an absence of moose in others. In recent years, when we have had licences, we have made verbal agreements with acquaintances, who did not obtain a moose, to give them a quarter and they would reciprocate the following year or the next year they had a licence. However, I came to realize that verbally stipulating the condition that we would receive a quarter of theirs was not necessary. The recipients, when approached, usually responded immediately to the offer of our quarter by saying something to the effect, "I'll give you a quarter next year when we get a licence." This has left us three quarters of moose (or two if we lent two, a front and a hind), which is more than adequate for our needs especially from a mature animal. (As a final note on this aspect, for each of the past two years, we have had a quarter coming to us which was quite timely since we were not able to hunt in these years).

The unsuccessful licence holders also have illegal options. They may enlist the aid of another skilled hunter to shoot one for them, offering a share of the meat. This is quite common particularly for those who have spent a considerable amount of time in the woods with no luck and are unable to return. Another option is to purchase some legally obtained moose from a successful hunter, although the purchase of moose meat from another hunter or a butcher is not permitted by provincial government regulations. A normal price for a medium size quarter of moose would be in the range of one hundred dollars. It may be arranged between the two people concerned or a third person who knows someone who has a quarter to sell or one who wants to buy a quarter. This illegal activity is common, calling for a personal relationship between at least two people, either one knowing that he can initiate the offer and trust the other to say nothing about the transaction. However, others in the hunting network will become aware in one way or another, of what transpired but usually keep it to themselves. They may acquire some illegally obtained moose meat by buying it from a poacher (an option available in most communities if one knows who to approach), or by poaching it themselves which is an option for many Newfoundland hunters.

Though there are several forms of poaching, some are acceptable to the community while other forms are not. Game laws introduced in 1859, with revisions in 1899, transformed what had previously been normal hunting into an illegal activity. These laws, applying to caribou, as moose had not yet been introduced to the island of Newfoundland, made it illegal to kill more than two caribou for subsistence (McGrath, *From Red Ochre*, 65). Relatively speaking, this was only a little over 100 years or only three generations ago. Thus, an older man hunting now could have been influenced, either directly or indirectly, by his grandfather who was permitted to hunt caribou out of

season. McGrath stresses this point when he states: "People may have grown up in a household where their parents, grandparents, and other family members poached, and so through socialization individuals learn to see poaching as okay, 'normal' (*From Red Ochre*, 68). Obviously today the hunt for moose is not born out of necessity for survival as it was a century ago. It is culturally driven by the need to maintain a tradition.

It should be emphasized here that poaching is viewed as having different levels of acceptance by the community. On one end of the spectrum we have a licence by one person but someone else actually killed the animal to fit the specified gender on the licence. In some cases, a person will be part of a group and becomes unable to hunt due to some acceptable reason, either age or some medical problem. In that case the others will fill his licence and he would be expected to pay part of the expenses incurred by the trip (excluding alcohol and food) and receive an equal share of the moose. This would not only be acceptable but considered the "right thing to do." McGrath found in his research that people even agree with killing moose for consumption without a licence but not for selling (*From Red Ochre*, 71). Omhundro suggests that in some instances in Newfoundland, even wildlife officials "...generally turned a blind eye if offenses were not flagrant" (201).

On the other end of the spectrum, if one had killed moose for the purpose of selling, it would be frowned upon by the hunting community as well as the community at large. As an illustration, I was recently informed of a young hunter in the community who shot a moose but refused to put a final bullet in it to end its life humanely because he saw another and wanted to kill it as well. He never got the second one, and the moose he had first shot revived and ran off to perish. He knew where it went but refused to follow because it was difficult to get access to. The same person, I was then told, killed several

moose last season and sold the quarters. The former qualifies as harvesting moose for subsistence, while the latter suggests not only greed but a disconnect with tradition.

As with a case involving purchasing a quarter of moose for personal consumption, the social hunting network may also be aware that certain unacceptable forms of poaching are occurring and will among themselves emphatically disapprove of them, yet they will not report it to the authorities. This would transcend the social mores of the community. As Melvin Firestone wrote about society in one area of Newfoundland, "Harmony, or at least lack of conflict, is what people attempt to maintain" and added: "One way to maintain this state is by being tolerant of the excesses of others" (113).

4.3 Consumption

In virtually all successful hunts, the primary meal of a moose just harvested will be immediate or shortly after. In some traditions, there may be a party among the hunters to celebrate a successful hunt. Max and Arch celebrate immediately on the day the moose is taken. That evening they will have a fry, usually the fillet, with their wives present. On the day the moose is collected from the butcher, cut up and packaged, a gathering may occur where hunters and/or friends will put on a fry. Bill's hunting party celebrate every year about three or four weeks after the moose hunt is completed with a "wildlife night" in which they eat moose and other forms of wild game such as rabbits and grouse. The group gathers at a house with wives and may include guests other than the hunting party. Though not a hard and fast or universal tradition, for Bill's group this has been ongoing for several years.

Moose will be consumed occasionally throughout the winter. Often when moose is bottled some will be opened and eaten either cold or heated for lunch or eaten as a late night snack with bread and tea before going to bed. In fact, we have several occasions

when moose may be traditionally prepared and cooked: (1) as a regular family meal; (2) for entertaining visitors in the evening; (3) as a pot luck dish for such events as social gatherings of the community or at wakes; and (4) more private and personal eating experience at night either alone or with a close friend or family member.

4.3.1 Family Meal

When moose began to appear as a staple in the meal system, it was consumed as: roasts baked in the oven, and eaten with home-grown potatoes, cabbage, carrots and turnip with gravy; steaks fried with onions and eaten with potatoes and gravy, or just with plain white bread; or in soup or stew. In rural communities, in the mid twentieth century, it was a supplement to a limited choice of foodstuffs, especially before the widespread availability of beef and other meats. When moose hunting first became common in Heart's Content in the sixties and seventies, moose would be eaten regularly and the supply would be depleted long before the next hunting season arrived. Now it is consumed less frequently.

If one were having guests for dinner, moose could be served in any form if the host knew that the guests preferred moose. In many instances a visiting family member who did not have any moose in a considerable length of time would be treated to a meal with either a roast of moose as the main entrée or moose steak, more for nostalgia than substance. Ironically, it is becoming less of a staple in household diets due, in part, to its availability. Kurt Lewin, in "Psychological Ecology," asserts, "...continued consumption of the same type of food leads to a decrease in the attractiveness of that particular food" (182). Though more moose is available now than thirty years ago, this partially explains why moose is eaten less now.

That which is left in the freezer when a new hunting season commences is bottled to extend the shelf life of the meat. Derek Peddle informed me that he doesn't eat moose as much as he used to; "When we had the kids home, moose was a cheap meal. No sausage or burger – either roast or steak. Almost ate a moose myself one year. It's different now."

Secondly, the taste for moose has become a generational issue in many families. Younger people, especially teens, will not enthusiastically anticipate a repast featuring moose as much as their parents or grandparents did. Bill indicated that his two teenage girls, "...don't like it for what it is, so it's not a family meal in our household." What is actually occurring here is a result of a global infatuation with fast foods and ethnic fare such as hamburgers, fries, pizza, chilli, and Asian foods to name a few.

4.3.2 Different Dishes

Though chosen less frequently as the main course for an ordinary meal, its preparation is changing with the times. Culinary adjustments are occurring on a regular basis especially in areas where the hunting culture is vibrant and these regions are not averse to using moose as ingredient in dishes primarily designed for beef. In Richard Gauwerke's *A Taste of Something Cookbook*, one will find recipes for venison, elk and other big game, such as Dutch oven goulash and venison stir fry among others, introduced by tips on how to prepare the game from the time it is shot to how it is served on the plate (107,112,128). Francine Dufresne, in *Cooking Fish and Game, French Canadian Style*, provides several moose recipes from the sophisticated-sounding moose bourguignon, to cabbage rolls with minced moose, to moose "amourettes" (moose testicles) sometimes called "fries" or "Rocky Mountain oysters" in the Western United States (128,131,132).

Newfoundland is no exception in substituting moose for beef and using it in ethnic foods such as curried moose, spaghetti sauce using minced moose meat, and others similar to the recipes above (with the exception of moose amourettes which are very rarely consumed in Newfoundland). Though the traditional roasts and regular steaks for grilling or stewing were favourite choices formerly, these are becoming less frequently requested. Most common are thin steaks referred to as "fast fry" for stir frying, minced moose for burgers and ground beef recipes; and the latest trend, sausages in varied forms with regular, honey garlic, and hot Italian most frequently requested.

4.3.3 Social Eating

The consumption of moose in Newfoundland has taken on social trappings. In Newfoundland households entertaining friends in the evening at home, either by informal invitation or just dropping in unexpectedly, is almost universal and in these social occurrences it is not uncommon for the host if he is a hunter to "put on a fry of moose and onions." In instances such as these, it is eaten usually no earlier than ten p.m. and is invariably accompanied by homemade white bread and tea.

4.3.4 Heart and Tongue

Unlike deer hunters in Pennsylvania, where eating the heart, liver, and testicles of one's first kill is considered a rite of passage, many Newfoundland hunters value the heart of the moose taken to be eaten as a social treat. Bill Balsom pointed out that in his group the heart of any moose shot is the property of the licence holder. That person could choose to keep it, which usually happened, or give it to someone else. My son, who was successful in obtaining his moose recently, gave the heart to his aunt. The liver, at one time treated in the same manner as the heart, is now usually discarded due to

warnings from the Wildlife Department about high cadmium content (*Hunting and Trapping Guide 2007-08*, 5).

The heart may be eaten by the hunter as part of a traditionally cooked meal, but more often enjoyed as a “grog bit,” stuffed and baked and then sliced and served cold as an hors d’oeuvre at a social gathering or in the hunter’s home when entertaining guests on special occasions such as on Christmas Eve. Harry Smith has a longstanding tradition in the community of entertaining “drop-in” visitors on Christmas Eve. (An old tradition in rural Newfoundland of visiting each other on Christmas Eve has in some families incorporated serving moose heart to visitors). On that day, his wife, Joyce, bakes the hearts and tongues of moose they have gotten themselves and those given to them by friends. Harry informed me that many of their friends in the Northwest Gander hunting area give his wife the tongues of moose they have shot because she has a reputation for skill in preparing them. He stated, “She cooks them perfectly for Christmas Eve for the crowd coming in.”

4.3.5 Fry

The time occasionally presents itself when the hunter feels the desire to eat some of the moose he has killed. A more universal tradition has evolved that appears to be ritualistic in practice and deals with the primary motive for the hunt, eating the meat, and is referred to as “putting on a fry” for oneself. Traditionally, a fry refers to small steaks of moose fried in fat pork renderings with onions, salt and pepper and eaten with tea and homemade bread. In this day of the health conscious consumer, cooking oil may replace fat pork but the bread, onions and flavourings remain consistent in the vast majority of cases. Virtually all hunters to whom I have spoken have described a time when each has gone to the freezer and taken out moose meat to put on a fry for himself. It may be alone

or with a close acquaintance, such as a wife or child, but is informal as opposed to cooking moose to entertain company. Often it will occur while watching a movie or a Saturday night hockey game on television, as Cyril Baker explained, "Now I eat it watching a hockey game on Saturday night, a pan full, and homemade bread." As Bill reported, "...I come home on a Saturday afternoon and decide to get a bottle of wine and put on a couple of steaks, some onions, watch it cook, and think about where we got it." Having done this myself many times, I know the feeling of satisfaction when frying moose, especially one that I have killed. This provides me with a gratifying sense of completion of the hunting experience and at the same time a duplication of the cabin experience. Frying it with onions and eating it with bread "takes one back" to the cabin doing what one would certainly do there. Bill alluded to this when he stressed the importance of thinking about where he got it. For a brief moment one is back in the cabin.

4.3.6 Pot Luck

At many social events where food is served such as potluck meals for community events, game, especially moose dishes, will be present. At a recent wedding anniversary celebration I attended for one of my resource persons, Harry Smith and his wife, Joyce, there was an extraordinary abundance of food with almost half of the fare being fish and game, including moose in varying dishes. At church socials in Heart's Content which include potluck meals, there are invariably at least two dishes of moose commonly seen such as green pepper moose steak and sweet and sour moose. I should note here that long before I decided what the topic of my thesis would be, my graduate class arranged a potluck for a Halloween social. I decided that I would provide moose sausages which were an immediate success, even being eaten by those who were avowed vegetarians!

4.4 Sharing

In Newfoundland there is a universal tradition of sharing moose in the community among family, neighbours and friends. This tradition had its origin in early settlement when game and especially fish were shared for survival. As late as the twentieth century this was still necessary. Henry Hiscock, aged eighty-one, declared that hunting for him was a means of survival. When talking about hunting moose in St. Jones where he grew up, he maintained, "You had to, to live. No matter who shot the moose, you'd get your share of it. The bunch was altogether." He emphasized that whatever moose or any other game they obtained, they shared it equally with the community. If a moose hunter or hunters were successful, other men in the community would help transport it home, often an arduous task due to the fiord-like terrain of the area. A crowd would come in to help if needed. "It took us two days to get two moose out one time," he recalled. When moose became plentiful, meat could be provided for the whole community. A common occurrence is for a successful hunter to bring moose to relatives and close friends who cannot or do not hunt but enjoy moose. He may make a visit to these people for the purpose of bringing them some moose. When Henry came to Heart's Content to live, he would return to his former community every year in the fall to hunt moose, as did Cecil Pitcher who also resettled from St. Jones. When they brought it back to Heart's Content, every household in the surrounding area would be given some of the meat.

John Omohundro reported that if a hunter in Main Brook on the Northern Peninsula procured a moose, "...he shared the meat around town as a welcome change from salt beef, lamb, and rabbit." He quoted one gentleman as recalling: "You didn't get much meat from a moose because you'd end up giving most of it away" (Omohundro, 201).

Today, this is regarded as a treat by both the giver and the receiver. Actually, these receivers to whom this has happened on regular occasions may come to regard it as a tradition. For example, I asked my brother-in-law who does not hunt if I had given him a meal, realizing I might have forgotten, to which he replied, "No, I wondered when you were going to give me my meal of moose." Normally, a meal will be given to friends visiting a hunter, usually as they are about to leave.

In some instances moose may become a form of social currency and given as a sign of appreciation for a favour. I had trouble with my sewer line on one occasion and had a gentleman with an excavator to dig it up. Being a former student of mine, he would not take any money for the job even when I insisted. I decided to give him some moose along with other tokens of appreciation. Omohundro describes "non-cash" exchanges on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland referring to the practice of exchanging locally acquired foodstuffs, materials, and services between the residents of a community (224). He recognized three distinct categories of these exchanges: "Non-cash exchanges in Main Brook and Conche fall into three categories which I will call gifts (presentations which are not reciprocated), offerings (presentations which are reciprocated later and usually in a different form not stipulated in advance), and trades (explicit and immediate exchange of equivalents)" (Omohundro, 224).

When moose meat is used as social currency in the area of Heart's Content, the most common is of the "gift" type. On one occasion, I had enlisted the aid of two skilled hunters to help me get a moose in an unfamiliar hunting area, which they did and we shared the moose. The following year when I had no licence, one of them delivered a meal of moose to me unexpectedly.

The "moose for labour" on the sewer line is a clear example of the "offerings" classification. This classification is not as common as the "gift" type but does occur mostly when a person is requested to transport a moose from a difficult area with a machine with the offering of a quarter of the moose. Interestingly, in this exchange, the payment is often refused at first suggesting that the owner of the licence just pay for the fuel required. This would be followed by an insistence by the licence owner to take half or a quarter of the moose, in addition to payment for fuel, which may or may not be accepted.

Like the offerings, the "trades" type is uncommon but does occur when a moose licence holder enlists the aid of a hunter, usually a skilled one, to help in the hunt. In this case the skilled hunter may stipulate a quarter of the moose in return though I was told of one instance where a cash payment (usually in the vicinity of \$100 was agreed upon). The lending of moose quarters discussed earlier, though not immediate for obvious reasons, would fall under the "trades" category. This exchange has less "pressure" than the "offerings" category, in which the equivalent is unknown, and is not as patronizing to the receiver. In fact it promotes social egalitarianism in that one will get a known equivalent in return. This is similar to Omohundro's description of a group of young men who would exchange cash from their employment cheques with one another because they each received their cheques at different times (223).

The motivations for the hunt fall under three main categories: economic, social, and traditional. The hunt can be economically feasible but for many the expenses outweigh the returns. We need to study the financial implications of the hunt and the factors that influence the economic gain as well as the cost of procuring beef and compare the cost of both.

Chapter 5

FEASIBILITY

Beef is cut and sold locally in some communities, in many cases illegally, and for that reason it is usually below supermarket costs and would represent the lowest price possible. I am acquainted with a person who occasionally sells quarters of local beef as a source of revenue not reported to taxation officials and I asked him about his prices. If one were to purchase a quarter of such beef, cut and packaged, it would cost approximately \$2.25 per pound or \$225.00 for a forty-five kg (one hundred lbs.) quarter. To get a quarter of moose cut and packaged it costs approximately \$.30 per pound or \$30.00 for a comparable quarter of moose. However, a study of additional expenses demonstrates that moose hunting can get to be quite an expensive activity. An article written by Terry Roberts for *The Telegram* provides a considerable price tag for hunters who start with no materials or training and desire to purchase the "top of the line" in accessories specifically for moose hunting. The prices range from ten dollars for a Thermos jug to twelve thousand dollars for an ATV. The following is what he highlighted as major expenses:

Hunting gear and accessories-----	\$1400.00
Moose licence-----	60.00
Firearm safety and hunter education course-----	60.00
ATV registration-----	50.00
ATV-----	<u>12000.00</u>

Grand total- \$13,570.00 (Roberts A1)

Undoubtedly, some of these accessories are of the high-end category such as a Goretex camouflage suit at \$200.00. However, the rifle and scope would not be considered

extravagant by hunting standards at \$600.00. In conversation with Tony Parrott, a gun dealer in Heart's Content, most of the rifles sold, with scopes, are in the \$500 to \$600 range but some cost as much as \$1700.00. There are other items which may be factored into the equation such as utility trailers and pick-up trucks in addition to a day's drive plus accommodations and butchering. Consequently, the price estimate given in Roberts's article may actually be conservative!

Yet, at the other end of the spectrum we get hunters who procure moose at very minimal cost. They do not have a pick-up truck or an ATV and most of what they need for any given year, they already have in their possession. To hunt moose, they have a gun, possibly a .303, one of the less expensive guns on the market, which has been in their possession for a considerable period of time being handed down from an older relative, and ammunition that may have been purchased in previous years, as well as a knife, and a blaze vest. The hunter safety exam is already paid for from a previous year. They may hunt within walking distance of their homes and it is not uncommon for them to have their moose shot early in the fall. The cost for these hunters is minimal for one season. It would include the cost of the licence, approximately \$60.00, food carried in the woods for lunch, and possibly hiring a person with an ATV to transport it home, though it may be paid for with moose.

In some cases, meat is cut up by the hunter as was done traditionally, thus removing dependence on anyone else to provide meat. This would be much more practical now in the age of home freezers and band saws. For the most part, if not baked in the oven as a roast, moose is cut up in small and/or thin portions to reduce the tough texture. This could easily be performed at home by a method referred to as "boning," where the meat is removed from the bones before being frozen, or cut with a saw after

freezing. This form of acquiring meat would be much more economical than buying a quarter of beef.

Most hunters fall between these two ends of the cost spectrum comprising two main types: those who hunt from home and those who hunt from a cabin with a great deal of variance in what is invested. In either case, the more costly items used such as a pick-up truck and an ATV have already been in their possession being used for other activities such as transporting locally cut firewood for their home heating, a very common practice for rural Newfoundlanders. Utility trailers used for moose hunting are, in many instances, home-made using discarded materials such as axles from old abandoned cars and oil drums cut in half. Even if it requires several trips to procure a moose, it is still more feasible than purchasing beef.

Trips of two to three days are normally weekend hunting trips to a cabin belonging to the hunter or a friend. In cases such as this, hunters may bring their own supplies including alcohol, food (which often comes from the home freezer), and other necessities. This may run in the vicinity of one hundred to two hundred dollars, less if partially shared. Understandably those that last seven to ten days at a time demand more careful planning and preparation to cut down on costs. For example, the expenses for Bill Balsom's group for the hunting season 2005-2006 cover everything (excluding the bullets, alcohol, and moose licence paid by each individual when his turn comes) from the gasoline to the gifts expected as part of the cabin rental and amount to \$230.00 (See Appendix 3). In cost alone, this hunt would be slightly more expensive than purchasing beef considering the personal costs of liquor and ammunition. However, Bill and his group maintain that it is about more than the meat. They point out that they have a week

in the woods with first rate accommodations and meals and approximately one hundred lbs of meat for slightly more than \$230.00. For them it is a bargain.

Those who wish to further reduce the cost of obtaining moose for a year are giving rise to an interesting development: the practice of family hunting. Moose hunting in the area of Heart's Content began in the late 1960s and older men and novice hunters quickly took up the activity and hunted with friends, sharing the moose equally with them. This is still common today but an increasing number of hunters share a licence with close family members. If we look at the youngest of these hunters in 1967 at eighteen years of age, which is the legal hunting age, they would be fifty-eight and have children now who would be the age of experienced hunters and would be inclined to share the hunt and the moose with fathers who in most cases introduced them to moose hunting. Of twelve respondents I interviewed, eleven hunted with their fathers, wives, or grown sons and/or daughters. As we have seen earlier in this study, approximately forty-three groups include family members applying regularly for moose hunting licences. With family members who live near each other, common in rural Newfoundland, this would undoubtedly improve the cost effectiveness of the hunt and provide access to moose from a family member's supply when needed.

Newfoundland hunters share traditions of camaraderie and appreciation of tradition with other hunters in North America. While there are commonalities, there are also subtle differences based on the social rituals, the connection of the hunters to their heritage, and community values. Traditions established generations ago as well as present community values govern sociability among hunters and are most pronounced on hunting trips to cabins. This sociability, the connection to home traditions, and community obligations merit further examination.

Chapter 6

SOCIALIZING

6.1 Ritual

Each of my informants who hunts from home cited social traditions as key factors in the hunting experience. The same was evident in hunting from a cabin where social interaction was much more intense, unquestionably due to a group of men living together in a somewhat restricted space. This appears to be common in other North American hunting camps. When the hunters in Bronner's study were posed the question "Why do you hunt?" the initial responses of his informants were predictable: "connecting with nature and the wild...the thrill of the hunt..." and "...getting away from modern routine..."(14). I received similar responses from Bill Balsom and Karl Bruff regarding their cabin excursions in Central Newfoundland. Bill stated it was "the relaxation and getting away from it all, the comradeship, the hunt." Karl described it as the "euphoria of getting out in the woods." As in the Pennsylvania hunting experience where play is prominent, in Bill's hunting party play was also evident to the extent of dart games, singing with a guitar and/or accordion, and the ribbing. As well, one person had to be constantly watched because of his insistence on playing practical jokes such as hiding something.

However, Bronner's group placed more emphasis on rituals. Upon reflection, the Pennsylvania hunters agreed that mostly it was "about the rituals and traditions of the camp." He went on to describe the practice of cutting pieces out of the shirttails of hunters that missed a shot and pinning them on the wall. He also described "blooding" rituals whereby an individual who shot his first deer had its blood smeared on his face, and the "hunter's dish," a drink of the blood of the first kill. In some instances they were

given certain organs of the first kill to eat such as the heart, liver and, on occasion, the testicles (16, 34). For the hunters in his study, these activities, and others described in the article, symbolize manliness and male initiation. However, none of my informants identified any ritualistic acts involving moose blood or cutting shirttails and had not heard of those occurring at all in Newfoundland. Although Okihiro reported a poacher on the Northern Peninsula of Newfoundland offering fresh moose blood to another in the hunting party immediately after a kill saying, "hunters usually drink some" (93), this account is the only knowledge I have of this occurring in Newfoundland. (Incidentally, he refused the drink). I suspect this was influenced by mainland and American hunters who often charter hunting trips to that area of Newfoundland.

Ritual and symbolism are not prominent in the Newfoundland hunting experience. Citing Abrahams, Bronner points out that "ritual breaks everyday routine, creates a different space and time, and establishes an extraordinary action or symbol as routine" (18). In the Pennsylvania deer hunting camps, much emphasis is placed on rites of passage for a novice's successful shot and ritualistic repercussions for failing. In Newfoundland, a missed shot would not go unmentioned and may be accompanied by a certain amount of ribbing from very close acquaintances but no ritualized actions. Similarly, in the event of a successful shot, the gunner would not expect ceremony of any kind from his partners. If the shot was exceptionally good such as a long shot, it would merit a comment such as "that was a good shot" followed by modesty on the part of the gunner who would almost certainly attribute it to luck, after which it would be dropped.

The scarcity of ritualism and symbolism is due to the hunt being motivated by subsistence as well as sport. A quarter of moose will average thirty-one to forty-five kg (seventy to one hundred lbs.) and will supplement a year's consumption of meat, a

welcome cost cutting measure in some households, compounded by the fact that many Newfoundlanders, hunters and non-hunters, enjoy its taste. I suspect that the main difference is that moose hunters in Newfoundland focus more on the practical purposes of the hunt than do Pennsylvania deer hunters. This is not to say that ritualism and symbolism are entirely absent in the Newfoundland experience. As the hunters in Bronner's article stated, "When we were younger, we looked forward to the kill, the big shot, but I tell you now it's about the rituals and the traditions of camp; it's about being with these guys" (14). Newfoundlanders are traditionally social individuals, so much so that for many, particularly in outport communities, the socializing that occurs in the cabin, i.e. getting together with friends and family involving music and singing, occurs at home, almost weekly for many. Thus the socialization at the hunting cabin is not a deviation from the routine; for Newfoundland hunters the ritualistic departure from the routine is the hunt. Jamie Hiscock referred to the moose hunt as something one has to do, "...like a ritual. Got to go and get a moose." The acquisition of the moose itself symbolizes the ability to provide. The meat stored in the freezer or hung in the shed is a traditional symbol, if you will, of the hunters' ability to provide as their forefathers did. When my informants referred to tradition as a reason they hunt, they were indirectly referring to their heritage.

6.2 Home Duplication

The socializing aspect of moose hunting is actually an extension of home. What may be surprising is the extent to which the cabin is influenced by home and is governed by two simple but main objectives: (a) to avoid that which is considered to be negative about home and, (b) duplicate the positive aspects of home.

The unverbilized code is to do what you want when you want as long as it doesn't bother anyone else. At home, boots would have to be taken off as one enters the house. Though this may occur in the cabin, they are more likely to be kept on. No strict scheduling for meals is characteristic of cabin life especially in the middle of the day when hunting is ongoing. Midday meals are eaten sporadically by whomever is hungry. The main evening meal is usually eaten after everyone has had time to clean up and have some drinks, which is often delayed due to the amount of drinking.

Unlike at home where excessive drinking may not be acceptable, there is a tradition among most groups of males in a cabin to relax drinking restrictions. This is always planned so that when hunting from a cabin, an ample supply of beer, liquor, and increasingly, wine, is considered essential. It will normally include each individual purchasing at least a bottle of rum or whisky and a case of beer, for a weekend hunt, much more for a hunt expected to require a longer duration. In many instances a "beer run" is necessary due to supplies running low. Alcohol is not normally consumed while hunting although it does occur, so for obvious reasons, these individuals are avoided. The drinking will begin as soon as the hunt is over for the day, usually before supper and will recommence after supper until it is time to retire for the evening. Oftentimes, one or more will become intoxicated usually adding to the merriment of the occasion but rarely will an individual display behaviour unwelcome to the company. I suggest that this is because the individuals are totally familiar with each other and would not include anyone in the group if they were the kind to get "out of hand." Nevertheless, this can and will occur and it will require social pressures to be brought to bear.

The meal itself is almost always an excessive amount leaving leftovers which will usually be eaten before the hunters turn in for the night. Turkey seems to be common

fare when ovens are available though if at home it probably would not have been eaten on that particular day. The same clothes, excluding underwear, may be worn for days and regular shaving may or may not occur, depending upon the individual. In fact, some hunters feel that aftershave lotion or soap is detected by moose in the wild and may hinder a successful hunt.

Yet we see a conscious effort to replicate some of the features of home.

Improvised shower systems are set up and full home-style meals prepared and presented with all the trimmings as if at home. Recreational activities such as darts and card games (especially the popular Texas Hold-em) are common features as is the constant country and western or Irish-Newfoundland music played on radio or tape deck.

Interesting to note, there is the acceptance by hunters for each other regardless of position or socio-economic background. Traditionally, in outport communities, there was a social barrier between those of wealth and /or authority such as clergy and merchants and the lay people who were usually fishermen. Gerald Pocius noted in his article "Hooked Rugs In Newfoundland" that the merchant and the clergyman were generally considered of a higher status than the fishermen. He continued to say: "If we look at the organization of the outport, then, we see that basically it was egalitarian in terms of the vast majority of residents, the fishermen" (Pocius, 283). This is characteristic of many rural communities today. Even though there is undoubtedly a strong feeling of connection among fishermen, many of today's moose hunters are not fishermen. They come from different walks of life and socio-economic backgrounds. Nevertheless, when together in a hunting situation, they are "moose hunters" and so a common bond exists among them. They speak the same hunting vernacular and share similar experiences of misses, hits, toil, and celebrations. At the cabin or in the woods, the hunting language is common,

usually informal, regardless of their different occupations and lifestyles. Conversations dealing with the names of different locations in the area, evaluations of different ATVs, struggles in lugging moose through heavy brush, and other related topics create a common bond among hunters previously unfamiliar to each other. Felt and Sinclair quote a resident from one of the outports referring to outdoor activities such as hunting and fishing as saying, "People just relax and take it easy too. Everybody's the same once you leave the roads" (Felt and Sinclair, 50).

The visits that occur to and from other hunters in the area appear to be an extension of the sociability which was common in rural Newfoundland up to the latter half of the last century. This earlier tradition of visiting was quite common in Heart's Content as well as other outports. Neighbours would regularly pay impromptu visits to each other in the evening generally to discuss, first and foremost the fishery, and other current news of the community. These visits would not be with the spouse, the wives generally doing their visiting during the day. It would last approximately an hour and alcohol would not be consumed or even offered. If visiting a cabin, one significant difference would be the offer of a drink or beer, uncharacteristic of community life in Newfoundland unless it was on a Saturday evening. In fact, one hunter on one particular trip remarked in describing these impromptu visits, "Every night is Saturday night down here." Visits made to the cabin during the day will still feature the offer of alcohol, or something to eat if food is on the table, but may be refused. The exchanging of information and other topics of conversation would still be similar.

In Millertown, visits were more frequent since a close bond had obviously developed between the occupants of two neighbouring cabins who see each other only during the annual hunting trip. This bonding was due, in no small part, to the proximity

of the cabins which allowed frequent visits certainly reminiscent of early outport visiting practices. One of the hunters in the next cabin would drop in daily for a half hour or so to chat before supper. During these visits, a drink would be offered but not always accepted. After supper these visits would involve longer periods of time and with the ever-present drink or beer. On these occasions, the visitors would bring liquor or beer to contribute to the evening's gathering not wishing to take advantage of the generosity of the hosts.

6.3 Obligations

Moose hunters in a community are aware that as part of a social entity there are obligations. These obligations in turn contribute to the cohesiveness of that entity and this reciprocal relationship is a major factor for the vibrant moose hunting tradition in Heart's Content. It is not uncommon for a hunter who has his licence filled to accompany a friend or neighbour on the hunt to help obtain a moose even though he is not part of that particular hunting group. This occurs regularly, especially for a hunt based at home. He may offer physical labour to aid in transporting a moose or examine a location for signs of moose and notify those with an unfilled licence. It may even involve help with a cabin a hunter is building or a homemade trailer cart for hauling moose.

When preparing for a hunting trip, neighbours in the area know about it and on occasion a desperate hunter may avail of the opportunity to get help procuring his moose. It is not unusual for a hunter with an unfilled licence to suggest to those going on a hunt that they "knock one down" for him. Oftentimes this is expected by the departing hunters especially if they perceive that the unlucky hunter has put reasonable effort into the hunt and that it is nearing the end of the season and so will oblige if presented with the opportunity.

The following description is an account of such interaction among hunters which took place in January of 2006. For reasons that will become obvious, the names of the individuals in the description of this particular hunting trip will be fictitious. I was invited to accompany some friends to a cabin they owned on a hunting trip. The men I shall refer to as Tom, Peter and Joe, Joe's sons Frank and Bob and his son-in-law, Harold, all fishermen with the exception of Peter, who had been a fisherman for a brief time, and myself.

The objective of this hunting trip was unlike most others. In this party, though we were all hunting together, we did not all share the licence. On this trip most of us had already had our moose licences filled and thus sharing any with us wasn't necessary. This trip was to fill a licence, to help with the hunt and completion of the cabin interior, and in my case, to do some fieldwork as well.

By the time the supplies were unpacked and the firewood stowed away, supper was being prepared by Peter and me and we cooked a substantial meal of salt fish and potatoes with "scrunchions" (salt pork cut in small portions of about one cm. square and rendered or fried up to a crisp) while the others decided to begin work on the north wall of the cabin. The interior was still unfinished and discussion dealt with what needed to be done next, so it was decided that finishing the wall on the north end with hardwood could be accomplished this particular evening.

After supper it was dark but a generator provided power for light and tools which had been brought along to complete the task. Each man appointed himself with mini-projects dealing with completion of the north wall such as doing the sawing, marking lines for the measurements, nailing or some other responsibility. Interesting to note is the fact that the cabin was built by the owners, with the help of the rest of us staying there,

with materials obtained from the surrounding forest. The hardwood boards we were using on the wall came from juniper logs that we had cut the previous year.

Eventually the work on the north wall was completed and ceased around nine-thirty and after a couple more drinks and ubiquitous conversations about moose and the fishery everyone made arrangements to go to sleep. There were seven of us present so sleeping space was limited. The co-owners had their bunks in the bedrooms and the rest of us slept on roll-away beds, on chesterfields, or on the floor where incidentally I was to sleep. By this time, the euphoria of the hunting trip, staying at a cabin with a wood fire crackling, and several drinks of rum had set in and the two of us were merry. Joe at one point arose and joined us in a drink but went back to bed shortly after advising us to do the same. Tom had consumed very little alcohol so he assumed the role of overseer for the evening's assembly and frequently got up to check the fire. In the early hours of the morning, Peter and I went to our respective beds and turned in (a term probably originating in collective sleeping areas such as bunkhouses or bunks on schooners which were built against the sides of the vessel; while in bed, if people wished to engage in conversation, they turned towards the center of the room. When one was ready to go to sleep, he turned in towards the wall). The floor consisted of only one layer of plywood so it was extremely cold. Oh the joys of fieldwork at a cabin in January!

On the morning of the hunt we were all up before daylight and joking and ribbing was common but as soon as breakfast was over, everyone became much more serious. An assessment of the weather had already been made by those going outside to relieve themselves and it was found to be consistent with the forecast of the day before. Joe's son, Bob, announced his plan to go down to Johnson's Gullies while Harold, his brother-in-law, and Frank, his brother, stated they would trim the perimeter of the woods

surrounding the gullies. Bob had the licence for a bull only; the other two hunters with him each had a small game licence and consequently carried twelve-gauge shotguns. At that point the comment was made that if we saw another moose to take it because Bill Smith had told us to knock one down if we saw a spare one. In fact two more hunters, one from a neighbouring town and the other from St. John's, were in the same situation and had mentioned to different individuals on this trip to shoot a moose for them.

All groups of hunters had two-way radios with them so the older hunters Peter, Joe, and I went up on a high cliff to the north overlooking the whole area of bog, barrens and forest to the southwest to try to spot moose. Tom decided to stay at the cabin to do necessary work to the cabin. We remained there for over an hour using binoculars until Joe decided to walk back towards a droke of coniferous trees behind us to the northeast to look for signs. Peter and I stayed where we were, continuing to search the land before us for any movement of moose. In this way a great deal of land could be covered. Shortly after, we spotted two moose on another hillside near Johnson's Gullies where the younger hunters were. Peter radioed to inform Bob where they were spotted but we later learned he had already seen them, had his radio turned off to avoid squelch noises and was cautiously making his way toward them. As we watched, we saw the moose begin to move, obviously aware of human presence nearby. They moved down the hill and went out of sight behind some trees and we lost sight of them.

About five minutes after we lost sight of the moose and then heard distant gunfire. Bob radioed Peter with the words: "Yeah, we got gravy," his standard code indicating that he just got a moose. There was only one licence in the group to fill so we assumed that they would be together paunching the moose. Shortly after we heard gunfire again Harold radioed Peter with the words: "We got it done now," a common expression in

Newfoundland meaning that someone was going to be in trouble. This meant only one thing in this situation, another moose was down. He was aware that other people might be picking up his transmission so he would not openly say what had happened. They had fired at one and it ran behind a dense growth of trees. Immediately after that another moose emerged from the other side of the trees and Bob thought that it was the one he shot at previously. He fired again and it fell down. However, when they got to the location, they discovered that there were two moose down. This immediately created a somewhat serious situation because this was a form of poaching.

A decision had to be made. It could be left to decay, but this was not even considered. It could be boned, i.e. the meat removed from the bones and divided equally among those who wanted some reinforcing the "guilt by association" premise which was already in effect. Though I had no say in the decision as to what to do with the moose, I would have been offered an equal share of the moose if it had been kept. This would not have been an attempt to ensure my silence, but due to my being part of the hunting community. Acceptance into that entity carries with it an expectation of trust. If I had not been trusted with the information about the poached moose, I would not have been informed. Knowing that I was with Peter and Joe, the younger hunters would not have informed them of the extra moose on the radio but waited until I was not around.

Another option was to give it to someone who had an unfilled licence for the area and there was no shortage of candidates. Nothing was said about it until we all arrived back at the cabin.

After having been informed of the moose taken, Peter and I decided to return to the cabin. We arrived back at the cabin around eleven a.m. and were joined shortly after by Joe, and later by the other hunters who reported the extra moose. At this point an

authority figure emerged. Joe was the individual who verbalized what was to be done with the moose by immediately indicating that the moose would go to the person from the community who had an unfilled licence. Obviously his relationship as father and father-in-law to three of the hunters caused them to regard him as the leader. More significantly, his career as a fishing captain on a long liner and his practice of having to make decisions daily on a regular basis endowed him with the unspoken position of authority figure to all of us.

Interestingly, there are occasions in Newfoundland social interaction when unspoken but understood decisions are made, as if people are of the same mind. For many years, Joe and Peter, especially before the use of two-way radios, have had an intuitive sense of what the other was thinking. In fact two-way radios are avoided at certain times when hunting because the noise of the radio would be heard by the moose and it would become alarmed and run. I had observed this technique of communication on other occasions accompanying them on the hunt when they would separate. I would accompany one or the other and after a period of time he would comment that the other was probably at such a location so we would go to another area. This would not be planned between them but one knew the other's thoughts.

The awareness of another's actions and thoughts has been learned by Joe's sons and son-in-law. Thus when the extra moose was shot, Harold's coded message was to make Peter and Joe aware of the situation in case someone outside the party had picked up the transmission. Everyone knew the spare moose would probably be given to another hunter but nobody had verbalized it. A hunter in the community had an unfilled licence and it was near the end of the hunting season, so the expectation was to call him. The social tradition of sharing dictated the action to be taken.

Multi-purpose trips such as this are not uncommon. A trip to a cabin on a hunting trip with a group of men is an excellent opportunity to get extra work done. The various tasks on this trip created the enjoyment of the experience, not just the actual hunt itself. The collective effort to aid in cabin construction and maintenance contributes to the moose hunting experience from cutting the logs, to building the cabin, to cutting the firewood for heat, to actually hunting the moose, and is a connection to community values. The collaborative effort, evident in the pre-hunt stage, was present as well in this trip. After the cabin owners decided what needed to be completed, each individual helped out without being directed. Finally the provision of moose not only for the hunter in the group but for another member of the community is similar to Henry Hiscock's experiences in St. Jone's when moose was obtained for the whole community. This serves as another connection between contemporary hunters and those in earlier times of subsistence hunting.

Actions such as these fall on both sides of the cause-effect relationship in that they nurture and are nurtured by interpersonal social interaction. The question was posed, "How does moose hunting influence familial bonds and friendship?" There's no doubt that bonding and re-bonding are products of the moose hunting experience, but conversely the research also revealed that familial bonds and friendship influence moose hunting. Ordinarily, as with my respondents, groups of hunters are comprised of those who have already created bonds either as family or through long-standing friendships. In most cases, hunters knew their hunting partners personally before they were hunting partners. The social interaction experienced during the stages of the moose hunt is but an extension and reaffirmation of that relationship.

These acts are not uncommon in hunting circles throughout Newfoundland because social traditions have become deep-rooted in the hunters. We need now to examine how the traditions have become so entrenched in Newfoundland society.

CHAPTER 7

TRANSMISSION OF TRADITION

Henry Glassie, in *Eight Words for the Study of Expressive Culture*, stated:

“Culture and tradition are created by individuals out of experience” (180). The survival experiences of the initial outport settlers in Newfoundland have created an innate desire on the part of their descendants to experience the outdoors as hunters like their forefathers. Each of the men with whom I worked clearly felt that maintaining traditions was a key element in their enjoyment of hunting.

The traditional skills and knowledge necessary to execute a successful moose hunt are not acquired through books or scholarly theses but gleaned from personal experience and more often than not, through traditional transmission of knowledge among hunters. They range from knowing the habits and habitat of moose to mastering a fair degree of marksmanship with a high-powered rifle. Other skills are derived from the old belief system of hunters of former years. These types of information have been passed on vertically from hunters to offspring through a tradition of patrilineal transmission as well as to those who are not their offspring in what I shall refer to as “adoptive transmission.” In addition, there is a sharing of information and knowledge horizontally among hunters themselves in the forms of conversations, stories, and songs. It is important to examine how these traditions are transmitted.

7.1 Vertical Transmission

In general there is a tendency for humans to feel the need to share that for which they have a passion. For some it may be music, art, or culinary appreciation, while for other people it would be hunting. Sharing the hunting experience is but one segment of the pleasure; introducing and initiating children into the tradition is equally important. In

many cases this begins with the traditional "boil-up" in the woods which eventually leads to fishing trips, rabbit slipping (snaring), and ultimately moose hunting. For the hunters in this study, moose hunting is a relatively new but already well-established tradition with vertical influences, both patrilineal and adoptive, the former being the most dominant.

7.1.1 Patrilineal Transmission

Many hunters began hunting because their fathers encouraged them to hunt and taught them how, including everything from how to handle firearms to knowledge of animal behaviour. It commenced with demonstrations of how to load and discharge a gun in a controlled environment. This was followed by the son accompanying the father at every opportunity, hoping for a shot at some game, until finally being permitted to go alone with the gun rabbit hunting, and eventually moose hunting. Even with the advent of hunter safety courses, older hunters will still remind novice hunters to check their guns to make sure they are not loaded until they intend to fire.

Most hunters today have served in this unofficial apprenticeship either as the student, teacher or both. Of the twelve hunters interviewed in my fieldwork, seven had initial hunting experiences with their fathers and established hunting traditions with them. Of the remaining five, three of the fathers had passed away before their sons were old enough or there was no moose hunting season at the time in the area. As well, eight have succeeded in transmitting the hunting tradition to their offspring. For example, Derek Peddle stated that his first hunting experience was as a boy with his father snaring rabbits and that he had been hunting moose ever since he was "big enough to walk." Upon moving to Heart's Content around the age of twelve, there was a lull in his hunting because at that time there was no moose hunting in the area until the late 1960s, and when a season finally did open he was away working in Ontario. When he moved back

to Newfoundland in 1974 he resumed hunting with his father. Derek's father has since passed away so Derek now hunts with his two sons Cory, in his late thirties, and Dee, in his mid-twenties, both of whom were taught by their father and are avid hunters and sport fishermen. Max's son, Wade, who started hunting with his father, has also become a keen hunter and today hunts with his wife, Annette, accompanied occasionally by his father. Arch's son Jamie began his hunting with his father and hunts with him when home from the Canadian Armed Forces.

I was quite fortunate to be able to simultaneously interview three generations of moose hunters, Melvin Hiscock, his father Henry, and his son Jamie, all residents of Heart's Content. Henry, a retired fisherman, was born in St. Jone's on the north side of Trinity Bay but in the early 1950s he resettled in Heart's Content with his parents, wife and four small children. He informed me that as a boy and a young man he hunted rabbits with his father and friends and later moose as they became plentiful in the St. Jones area. His son, Melvin, reported that he was about fourteen or fifteen when he first went moose hunting with his father. His words were: "I was just able to get around in the woods and lug a gun. No matter where he [his father] went, I was always there. That's how come we got so interested in it." He went on to state that one had to be "hardened into it." Jamie was even younger when he started hunting than his father had been. He maintains that he was just able to walk when he went hunting with his father on the Argentia Road. He now has a daughter one year old. When asked if he thought she would hunt, his response was "If I can do it, she will, unless she doesn't want to."

Tolson Rendell, a friend and a moose hunter from Heart's Content, told me in conversation this past fall that he couldn't hunt yet because he was waiting for his son to get home to accompany him on the hunt. The licence was a party licence in both their

names but his son was in Alberta. He had scheduled his holidays to be home before the hunt was over but time was slipping by and the season would be over on January sixth. It was suggested to Tolson that he not wait but try to get the moose whenever he could but he would not hear of it. This is indicative of the importance placed on the father-son moose hunting tradition. Moose hunting had become such a strong tradition with father and son that his son scheduled his holidays partly in order to go moose hunting with his father. He arrived shortly before Christmas and, with help from friends in the community, they got the moose on the last day of the hunting season.

Wylie Parrott for many years both as a youth and an adult accompanied his father, Max, to Northwest Gander on hunting trips. By accompanying his father, he learned by listening to him and the other hunters with them and from his own experience. He informed me that his father "was not much of a hunter" but "used to cook in the camps." Wylie has a son Ryan who, at a young age, has already killed his first moose.

Arguably, the epitome of the patrilineal transmission of the hunting culture has to be the hunting careers of Harry Smith and his sons, Keith and Craig, hunters extraordinaire. Keith and Craig are, for all intents and purposes, professional hunters. The two brothers, who fish for a livelihood in the summer, are hunters in the fall, winter, and spring. Harry, another of my source persons, has been a tremendous influence upon his two sons who have acquired a vast amount of skill and knowledge from their father as well as their own experience. Harry worked as a linesman but in the evenings he would be out fishing in Trinity Bay or in the country hunting and trapping or berry-picking to help supplement his income to provide for a family of seven, often returning home after dark. When his sons became old enough to help it was a foregone conclusion that they

would help out and help they did. Eventually, each killed his first moose in his early teens to the delight of their father.

Eventually, Harry began hunting in the Northwest Gander area where he soon acquired a cabin after several years of staying in cabins of friends. Then they would go hunting in that area as a family unit until the sons began their own families. Now Harry has a cabin of his own and his sons have taken over the old one and renovated it. Both Keith and Craig spend a great deal of time in their cabin during the late summer, salmon fishing, and fall hunting often accompanied by their families as their father did. They have fished salmon in the rivers and hunted and trapped all profitable species of wildlife including small game such as rabbit, grouse, weasel, mink, lynx, fox and coyote and big game moose, caribou and bear. Harry still goes down to his cabin but has scaled back his activities to fishing the rivers and ponds, hunting rabbits, and occasionally moose and caribou. In the fashion of a true hunter, he has learned to call moose by imitating their sounds that he has often heard in early morning. Keith has a son, Davis, who appears to be following the hunting tradition as well having successfully hunted seals and moose at the young age of sixteen. Craig's ten-year-old daughter, Laura, makes regular visits to their cabin and has been successful in snaring rabbits. Another remarkable skill Keith and Craig have inherited from their father is the art of narration. Their hunting anecdotes and personal experience narratives are numerous and told in the rare animated fashion of the true storyteller.

The practice of the young taking over tasks from the father in hunting is not uncommon. Though fathers continue to hunt with their sons, oftentimes the responsibility of finding the moose is left to the offspring. Derek Peddle is quite happy to let his sons, Cory and Dee, do most of the hunting. Gerald Parsons, another hunter from

Heart's Content, has told me in conversation that his son Mark does most of the hunting for moose or caribou now at their cabin in Central Newfoundland. Harry informed me that he doesn't hunt anymore, he "leaves that to the boys."

The fathers, who were once the constant companions to their sons when hunting, will now frequently follow the sons' lead. This appears to be a rite of passage. When the son is no longer dependent upon the father to help him get his moose, then he has become a mature hunter and will make the decision about where to hunt and join in the conversations around the metaphorical table about moose hunting, speaking with an air of expertise. This passing over of the responsibility for getting the moose is not marked by any special occasion or ritual. It is usually acknowledged by the father reporting to others that his son was in hunting on a certain day or announcing that [his son's name] got his moose. Even before the moose is obtained the father will treat his son as an authority on hunting and will ask him about the conditions of hunting, signs of moose and other information at which point the son will reply in a confident knowledgeable manner offering his opinion and expect to be taken seriously.

7.1.2 Adoptive Transmission

In addition to patrilineal transmission, it is also quite common for an adult male in the community to take along a youth, other than his son, on the hunt. This may be an extended family member, a friend of his son, the son of a friend, or indeed some youth who, for whatever reason, has no father figure to take him. In the same fashion, this may begin as a boil-up, fishing trip, or rabbit snaring. For example, my father passed away when I was six years old. Subsequently, other adult males in the community would take me troutng with them and family friends would include my mother, my siblings, and me when they went on an outing such as a boil-up. In turn, I have, on several occasions,

taken young boys with me on outings when their fathers were unable to do so. Similarly when the moose quarter is being skinned at the hunter's shed or garage where it is hung after being transported home, often a young boy, who is not a son of one of the hunters, will be permitted to skin a quarter himself if the authority figure feels he is responsible enough not to cut himself. He will be shown how to do it carefully as well as properly, so as not to spoil the meat, and then given the knife with cautions to be careful. In each case the adult male will assume the role of father figure regarding the teaching of skills needed for a successful experience

An extension of this "adoptive" vertical transmission is that it includes not only relatively minor outings, such as trouting and small game hunting, but applies to big game hunting as well, which will often include hunting trips lasting several days away from home. Youths, who for some reason can not go hunting with their fathers, often will travel with some other older men who will accept them as novice hunters or even hunting partners. Arch Langer, whose father had ceased to hunt, began hunting in his mid-teens with legendary hunter and fisherman, Cecil Pitcher from Northern Point in Heart's Content who was a friend of his father. Max Piercey, also from Northern Point, whose father worked away from home and suddenly passed away while Max was in his early teens began his hunting activities with his mother's brother approximately thirty-seven years ago in Northwest Gander area. Cyril Baker, whose father also worked away from home, came under the tutelage of Derek Peddle's father. Bill Balsom, whose father passed away while Bill was a boy, at eighteen travelled with his friend Wylie Parrott and his father to Central Newfoundland on a moose hunting trip. Bill, in turn, has become a mentor to his nephew David, the son of his brother who does not hunt. In fact, when Bill purchased a new rifle, he passed on his older one to David. He informed me that David is

at the point now in his early thirties where he can paunch (field dress) a moose in a relatively short time (ten minutes by Bill's estimation), normally a twenty to thirty minute task.

The motivations for this are undoubtedly altruistic in that they afford a youth a trip he may not otherwise experience and encourage vertical transmission of knowledge and lore and contribute to his development as a hunter.

7.2 Horizontal Transmission

Though he prefers not to hunt in late afternoon, the season was coming to a close and Derek needed to fill his licence. He saw a cow moose and a calf and shot at the cow. If hit other than in the head, neck, or backbone, many moose will not fall down immediately but have the strength to run a considerable distance before succumbing to their wounds, which happened in this case; it immediately ran into a grove of spruce and fir trees and Derek didn't know whether he had hit it or not. If he had missed, then the cow would be long gone and he would not have enough daylight time to track it.

While trying to decide whether or not to investigate the grove of trees, he noticed that the calf reappeared and was staying around. Experience taught him that a calf would have followed its mother, so it was an indication to him that the cow was probably hit and was down. Though it was almost dark, he went over to investigate. He quickly found the dead animal, paunched it and covered it with boughs to keep it from being scavenged overnight, and was able to get back to his cabin before it was too dark to see. He added with acerbity that if that had been an inexperienced hunter who didn't know that the calf will usually stay around even if the cow is dead, he would have thought he had not hit it and left, leaving good meat to rot. Hence, I was supplied with another hunting tip.

In Heart's Content in autumn, moose hunting dominates conversation among hunters. Invariably, personal experience narratives such as the preceding one, anecdotes of adventures and misadventures of previous trips including sightings, misses, successful shots, or the transporting of the carcasses, are told and retold. Actually the moose hunting culture in the community is characterized by an informal network of hunters constantly involved in the horizontal transmission of information relating to where and when moose were seen. Knowledge will be gained by one and shared by word of mouth, compared and evaluated by each hunter all under the social construct of the hunt. After work, men seek others to discuss different aspects of the hunt which may include reports on somebody else's trip, locations proving to be good or bad for hunting and other general "shop talk" about hunting. This may be in the form of a brief unannounced visit to one's home but more often in the shed or other gathering place such as the community wharf as well as in the cabin during a hunting trip. Not to be confused with a gathering to make plans for a hunting trip, the motive is sociability and exchanging moose hunting information with friends and neighbours.

Invariably conversations will include opinions based on experience. It appears that the motives for this are two-fold. Younger or even older novice hunters feel the need to demonstrate their knowledge of hunting to establish a sense of belonging to the group as well acceptance and respect as a hunter. When a young hunter at a cabin remarked after hearing a favourable weather forecast, "The ground'll be tore up down there tomorrow morning," meaning there would be many tracks at the location under discussion, it was confidently stated. Other more experienced hunters agreed, thus recognizing his experience. He went on to say that he would be down there the next morning before daylight indicating he would be the one to take the lead. His father, from

whom he learned his hunting skills, and who was one of the organizers of the trip, was quite content for his son to take the lead in the hunt. Among more experienced hunters, the information they provide is not an attempt at acceptance. That has already been established. It is a reaffirmation of hunting prowess as well as an avenue by which they can pass on knowledge. Derek's guess that he had killed the moose because the calf stayed around was related to me in an explanatory tone for my benefit.

The efforts made to ensure the transmission of hunting traditions are indicative of its importance to the tradition-bearers. At their cabin one night in Northwest Gander, Keith and Craig Smith, as well as their father Harry, had no reservations about demonstrating several moose calls for me. It came up in the conversation though I hadn't requested a demonstration simply because I'd assumed that they would not want to due to other visitors being around. I soon discovered that it was important to them to attempt to teach me how to do it.

The importance placed on the hunting tradition was most obvious in the use of stories. During the interviews with my source persons, in responding to a question, the answer was frequently followed by a personal experience narrative to support the point. As a further indication of the involvement in the tradition of hunting yarns (stories), it was evident that the younger Hiscocks had often heard the stories from the elder by the ways they occasionally contributed to them, often with emphasis. This same complementarity was evident in all interviews I did with more than one informant at the same time, as they frequently spoke to one another, apparently forgetting that I was present.

7.3 Songs

Horizontal transmission today involves more than one-on-one interaction. Songs performed either locally or recorded in a studio play a major role in cultural transmission. John Ashton recognized that the regionalization of folklore stimulated indigenous traditions such as folksongs and their importance to the Newfoundland culture. "Local songs...represent a significant source of ethnographic data for they proclaim community values, reiterate the shared experience of community residents and articulate locally refined notions of identity" (Ashton, 52). The strength of local songs lies in the accuracy of the portrayal and an appreciation for a song is dependent upon that. "The Moose Song" is an example of a "social commentary" on "squealing" or reporting poachers to the authorities (51). A moose, spotted within a community on Newfoundland's South Coast, was killed by some of the men there and the meat distributed throughout the community. They were "squealed on" by a neighbour of one of the men and they were fined. One verse of the song alludes to several social traditions.

We took the moose and chopped him up and gave it all around,
It looked just like a meat market that day on Dewey's Ground.
The men that killed the moose, my b'ys, they would not hurt a chick,
To let that squealer inform on us we should have broke his neck. (51)

First of all we get the songmaking tradition of a local event, common in Newfoundland as Ashton reported. In line one, poaching is not only presented as acceptable but collectively practised by the men of the community. We see the sharing of meat throughout the community as has been done in Newfoundland for centuries and the communal effort involved in accomplishing it. In line three we are reminded of the non-violent nature of outport men even when they know they are going to be reported to the

law. Line four, "...we should have broke his neck," seemingly contradicts the non-violent nature of the men in the song. However, it is merely an idle threat, of a kind used universally in Newfoundland.

Arguably the most popular and well known is a song composed by Kevin Blackmore, and performed by him along with Wayne Chaulk, and Ray Johnson of the folk comedy trio Buddy Wasisname and the Other Fellers titled "Gotta Get Me Moose B'y." A light-hearted ditty, it addresses the application process, long distance hunting, and the paradoxical getting out into the wild in a luxurious motor home. It portrays the common occurrence of drinking and partying with strangers while hunting, referred to as "got on the beer," as well as the ironic situation of going to a distant area to hunt and meeting hunters on their way to the area the speaker just left. It addresses the "bull first choice" scenario and the danger involved as well as the nauseating task of paunching the animal. The final verse alludes to the all-too-common occurrences of moose-vehicle collisions. "Got to get me moose, b'y," a common expression among Newfoundland moose hunters, accurately captures the whole experience of a moose hunting trip which is the reason for its popularity. Different hunters can identify with different occurrences in the song because they have "been there, done that."

Gotta Get Me Moose B'y

Chorus:

Like to go a-moose hunting, hunting in the fall.

Like to go a-moose hunting, answer the hunting call:

"Got to get me moose, b'y!"

1. Well, first to get a moose licence you apply for six whole years,
At thirty-five dollars a crack old man, with a partner for half shares,
And when you get the licence, "cock", 'tis area twenty-eight,
Nowhere near civilization, three hundred miles away...
But I got to get me moose, b'y!

Chorus

2. To get to where you're going it's a Hilton on four wheels,
 Gets easily stuck, the gas tank leaks and something up front squeals.
 We met four fellers on a trip and we got on the beer,
 They were on their way to our back yards and we was off to theirs.
 But I got to get me moose, b'y!

Chorus

3. Trottin' on the bogs for miles, with a pack sack on your back,
 You knows he's always just ahead, fresh buttons in his tracks.
 Well maybe he can hear us, b'ys, or maybe it's that snout...
 I allow it's not hard to get a whiff of we after five or six days out!
 Hah! Got to get me moose, b'y!

Chorus

4. At last we saw a great big bull and oh my, what a fuss!
 Fired ten shots and had to run! He started chasing us. Hah!
 But when we got him killed, me lads, I had to panch his gut!
 Me manly hunting instinct left and me supper all heaved up. (Whoop)!
 Got to get me moose, b'y!
5. Well Jack, we got to lug 'im out, you were fine to have along,
 But my next partner will be a wrestler, twice as big and strong,
 And never again will I go out, across the bog so far,
 I'll wait 'til I sees one on the road and "wing 'im" with me car!
 Hah! That's how I'll get me moose, b'y!

Chorus

(Buddy Wasiname, 14-15)

Interesting to note is that the possessive adjective "me" [my] in the title and ending line of the chorus reflects a sentiment among hunters that moose hunting is an entitlement. This attitude arguably developed over centuries when game was so vital for survival that hunters regarded it as their means of living, something put on earth for them. Currently it reflects exactly what the licence represents, "a moose for you." All you have to do is go out on the land and get it.

In rural settings the outdoors plays a major part in the lives of those who dwell there resulting in many outdoor activities becoming traditions. Obviously, outdoor traditions are paramount to hunters by the very nature of their activities thus contributing to their identity. Kay L. Cothran, describes tradition as being part of one's identity: "We can see it as both a way and a means, as something people live and through. In a sense we do not have traditions as much as we inhabit them. We participate in traditions because we are what we are" ("Participation in Tradition," 8). The moose hunters of Newfoundland are descendants of fishermen-hunters. Because the fishery remains so prominent in the lives of rural Newfoundlanders, it has shaped their identity and profoundly influenced the traditions of the moose hunt. It is necessary to examine how this has evolved.

Chapter 8

IDENTITY

8.1 Fishery

The major industry in this province has for centuries been the fishery. On each of the three separate hunting trips with different individuals I found it intriguing how frequently the commercial saltwater fishery, and related topics arose in casual conversation with discussion especially of crab, shrimp and long liners. At the cabins in the Heart's Content and Northwest Gander areas it was understandable since on each occasion, all except two were fishermen. Considering that informal discussion on a subject on which the participants depend for a living often becomes horizontal transmission of ideas, naturally it would have a high profile at any gathering. However, in the cabin at Millertown, of the eleven in the nightly gatherings, only two were fishermen, yet commercial fishing was prominent among the conversations and discussions. This was not due to any one person dominating the discussion. The prominence of the fishery as a topic of conversation among moose hunters is due to a number of factors.

Firstly, the fishery is obviously an outdoor activity and as such it shares features with moose hunting. Both are unpredictable, with an elusive quarry, are governed by restrictions, and thousands are involved in them. Secondly, of the individuals who are not fishermen at least five had fishing in their family no earlier than the past two generations. Thirdly, the fishery remains the major employer in the province and most have some knowledge about it, certainly more than any other industry with which they are not involved. Finally and most importantly, these non-fishing hunters grew up in outport communities where hunting and fishing were socially linked, in society if not in

their immediate families. They grew up in a society with the tradition of fishermen becoming hunters in the fall. Melvin Firestone observed: "The cooperative fishing endeavour forms the core integrating activity of families.... In a secondary sense sealing and other hunting carried on by family members produces the same effect" (86).

References to fish and fishing in my fieldwork were glaring: fish as the most popular foodstuff carried for the boil-up; fish is brought to the cabin gatherings as a treat; salt fish used as partial payment for the cabin rental in Millertown; a fish vat used as a cooler at the cabin; and the traditional fisherman's amble outdoors at night to get an indication of the next day's weather are more prominent examples. There are other parallels that are too significant to ignore.

The sharing of moose is reminiscent of sharing fish. In Heart's Content and other fishing communities, one could obtain a "meal of fish" without having to buy or even ask for it. All one had to do was go to the wharf when the fishermen were landing their catch and a fish would be offered if one had no way of getting his own fish, such as one who did not fish for a living, a visitor from outside the community, but especially an elderly retired fisherman. Several years ago, a retired fisherman in the community gained a reputation for acquiring his winter's supply of fish for the freezer in this manner. Subsequently, this fishing tradition has all but vanished in outport Newfoundland due to the demise of the cod fishery, but clearly it has been transferred to the moose hunting tradition and this tradition still flourishes.

As in moose hunting, the fishery is non-competitive. Fishermen at one time would go out on the bay with a trawl and if successful would inform other fishermen of the location of promising signs of fish. Similarly, moose hunters are not secretive about

where moose are believed to be located and will offer suggestions as to how best to approach and get a shot.

As we learned, hunting groups change when sons become old enough to hunt due fathers leaving, each to form a new group with his son. Firestone reported the same occurrence in fishing families when brothers are fishing as a crew. "When the brothers' children grow up there will in most cases be a split and each brother will fish with his sons." He went on to point out that the father is "the leader and director in all affairs of the group and is superior, too, in authority and prestige" (Firestone, 45). Such was the case when the father who was a fishing captain took charge in deciding what to do with the extra moose in Chapter 7.

The most profound parallel lies in the transmission of skills and traditions. That the adoptive transmission of the hunting culture bears a striking similarity to the informal training of young boys in the fishery is no coincidence. Northern Point where I grew up, had, and still has, a strong fishing tradition. I, and some of the other boys who were not directly involved in the fishery, envied boys who were compelled to work helping their fishermen fathers, a form of informal training. To be like them, and because for boys it was so enjoyable, we would frequently help fishermen as they processed (caught, cleaned, and salted) the cod. This involved going with them to the cod traps and helping them on the wharf and in the stage (a small shed used for cleaning and salting the fish). If we saw that one of the crew needed help or stopped what he was doing, we would take it upon ourselves to temporarily do his work for him. This often required him to show us how something was done, from processing the fish to handling a boat. Often the boat owner (never referred to as captain) would enlist our help. I relished the opportunity because it made me feel more mature.

Ostensibly, it may have provided the boat owners with potential crew members, contributing to a viable fishery in the future. I suggest a deeper motive--cultural initiation. Fishermen have always had a deep affinity with the fishery and pride in their skills. There was a natural instinct to share, through patrilineal and adoptive transmission, the strong connection they had with their occupation. All the informants in my study, and indeed the majority of hunters in Heart's Content, experienced, and were influenced by, this acceptance into the male world of the fishery. By extension, we get seasoned hunters providing the opportunity for younger would-be hunters who want to experience hunting and at the same time contributing to sustaining a hunt. As with fishing, this training is also culturally motivated.

Heart's Content, as with virtually all outport communities, is characterized by a close connection between the inhabitants and the land and sea, the fishery being its *raison d'être*. I have discovered that virtually all the social traditions associated with moose hunting had their basis in the fishing tradition and that these two domains are inextricably linked. Consequently, the forced marriage of the fishing and hunting lifestyles has become our collective identity.

This identity is also on a personal level. For some it may have been developed by the thrill of the hunt or a sense of accomplishment and independence by being able to provide food, while for others, it stems from a fierce connection with their heritage and the land. For all of my resource persons, it is a combination of all these. Keith Smith, a full-time fisherman and hunter, described it to me in a moment of baring his soul while I was attending his parents' wedding anniversary celebrations. He requested that I accompany him outside to his car. He had two empty glasses with him and when outside he opened the trunk of his car and withdrew a bottle of Lamb's rum. We sat in the car

and he poured both of us a drink. He commenced to tell me how much hunting and fishing meant to him by saying, "It's in the heart," as he thumped his chest. "I did it [chose fishing and hunting as a livelihood] because I saw what the old man went through. He would come home from work with the Light and Power and jump in the boat and be out hauling his trawl 'til after dark or in the woods checking his slips [rabbit snares] 'til dark. We didn't want to go through that so that's why Craig and I got into this."

He continued, "I was in school one time in grade eleven and the girls were there in the classroom talking about how bad [cruel] seal hunting was. After awhile I couldn't take it any more. I up and told them all about sealing and how hard it was, you know, our side of the story. I didn't know it but a teacher was listening and he wanted me to give that same speech in a public speaking contest but I wouldn't go. It was from the heart, see? It's part of you."

Each of my informants has clearly shown that the hunting traditions have become part of his identity. Several of my respondents agreed that hunting is innate. Cyril insisted "it is in your blood." Derek implied that it is about a connection with the land when he stated "not so much about the moose as getting out to hunt. It's part of being a Newfoundlander." Melvin Hiscock emphatically stated, "It'll never die here." Finally, when asked what he liked most about moose hunting, Wylie Parrott, an experienced moose hunter, responded, "I like the meat, like out in the country, like hunting with friends, not just the kill. If moose hunting was taken away, there would be a void in your life. Heartbreaking. Some families have nothing to do with moose hunting at all, then someone in the family will grow to be a hunter and love it. It was always there, just haven't come out.... It may not show up until a later generation." To illustrate the importance of the hunting tradition, in his interview Wylie demonstrated its

significance to him. Several years ago, he was diagnosed with a congenital heart condition that will drastically shorten his life expectancy. He explained to me that it was of the utmost importance that he pass on his knowledge to his son, Ryan. By all accounts and observations, he has succeeded.

The social dimension of sharing is as natural to these hunters today as it was necessary for fishermen/hunters in early settlement days. On many occasions I have witnessed and participated in the social interactions described and it was during my interview sessions that I realized that the instinctive need to share as a hunter is part of my identity as well. While interviewing, I frequently became so involved with the topics that I was contributing to the conversation adding my own somewhat limited knowledge. It wasn't an intentional act on my part as a participant-observer to identify with the informants to put them at ease. I am part of that culture and though I planned to encourage my informants to talk as much as possible, I was unconsciously joining in and participating in the interview.

Chapter 9

CONCLUSION

9.1 Change

Though moose hunting traditions have become entrenched in Newfoundland society, change is occurring. The latter part of the twentieth century in Heart's Content has seen a trend towards family hunting groups. More females are becoming involved and often at an early age. Some hunters have begun including their daughters in the hunt, as is the case with Craig Smith whose daughter, Laura, has been accompanying her parents on the moose hunt to their cabin in Northwest Gander since early childhood. This increase in the number of wives, girlfriends, and daughters of male hunters applying has added a new dimension to the social context.

By permitting and participating in these acts, women are identifying with the tradition even though they may not be the actual hunters. In fact, one woman informed me that on one occasion she had gone in the woods to where a moose was being paunched by her husband, who had shot it to fill her licence, so that she would be present in case a wildlife official showed up. When it was finally transported to his shed, her husband suggested that she come in and have a drink with him and their friends in the shed, which she did.

The above account is indicative of the involvement that the vast majority of women share in the hunting experience and many report that they enjoy this avenue for socializing. Many women who apply for a licence are in a group which includes other women who are often social acquaintances. They may have formed a social group active during other times of the year which extends into the hunting season with the husbands, relatives and friends. However, females in hunting communities have limited

involvement in the hunt due to hunting in itself being gender-driven. This is supported in two ways.

Though the tradition has come to include women in the socializing, instances of their joining in on the hunting talk of men are rare. Men's talk with women about moose hunting stays at a more general level as compared with their enthusiastic and detailed information-sharing with other men. As discussed earlier, many conversations regarding moose hunting occur in the sheds, on the wharves, and other outdoor locations where mostly men congregate. Even when socializing at home, there is usually a physical separation between genders. The men may be in one area of the house discussing hunting or fishing and the women in another discussing topics of a different nature. Any discussion about moose hunting among both genders is minimal.

More pointedly, of the estimated thirty-nine female hunters in Heart's Content, only one has actually shot at a moose. As discussed in Chapter 3, most women have no desire to discharge a firearm. Even though many women accompany the men on the hunting trips to cabins, with some travelling in the woods during the actual hunt, discharging the firearm remains the domain of the males. No doubt there are women who enjoy the hunt and shooting a moose as much as men, and I am familiar with several in different areas of the province, but they are in the minority.

Interestingly, when one considers how many women have taken an active part in outdoor work such as fishing in Newfoundland, it is conceivable that women would participate more in the actual shooting of moose. Throughout her book, *More Than Fifty Percent: Woman's Life in a Newfoundland Outport*, Hilda Chaulk Murray describes the work expected of women in fishing families, from tending the gardens in the summer while the men were fishing, to their responsibility in the stages for processing (washing,

salting, and storing) the catch of cod working alongside the men. I have witnessed women cleaving firewood and storing it in the house each day while the men were on the water. My mother, who was born in 1911, has often described the work her mother performed tending the gardens, cutting hay, and tending sheep as well as other manual labour.

But the work of women then rarely included the actual harvesting of the resource, and it is here that we can see another dimension of an identity with the fishery. In the fishing industry, work was performed by women in a supporting role because there was no alternative for survival. It was performed to allow the men more time on the water harvesting a badly needed resource. By obtaining moose licences, women are again providing more opportunities to harvest a resource which often includes accompanying the men on the hunting trip to avoid charges of poaching. These resulting trips have become social experiences and consequently have evolved to include women as part of the hunting tradition.

9.2 Modernity

It is increasingly common for this traditional activity to be pursued with the help of the latest technologies. Many hunters now apply on-line or at least get someone to apply for them. As well, women have reported finding recipes for beef and/or game on the Internet. One woman found a recipe on the Internet for Waikiki meatballs and substituted moose for the beef. In response to these changing taste trends, requests for minced moose meat and sausages are becoming more common to accommodate new dishes that have evolved mainly by substituting moose for beef. Finally as more people are succumbing to the North American influence of television, beginning as children, the palates of the population are becoming less inclined to the taste of wild game and they are

becoming adherents to Western Society's fixation on globally packaged, fast food cuisine.

A return to the practice of hunters cutting up the meat themselves, instead of bringing it to the butcher, is also increasing. With modern tools and large freezers, meat can be frozen and cut up as needed or all at one time. As explained earlier it could be a cost-cutting measure, but I suspect that for many the feeling of independence is a major motive. Cutting the meat himself increases the hunter's sense of his ability to provide and in the process adds another traditional element. Though the methods for cutting may be different, the action is the same as with his forefathers.

The materials used in executing the hunt such as clothing, transport, and for field dressing make it less laborious. At the same time the hunt has in some cases assumed a "high tech" operation, the costs of which can be extremely high and impractical if one is intending to use materials for moose hunting only. Nevertheless, for the vast majority of those who participate, the hunt is worth what expenses they incur.

Though the moose hunting tradition is strong in Heart's Content, the change with the most far-reaching effects is the decrease in the overall number of hunters applying in the province. For example, in 2003, there were 122,541 applications for moose licences received by the Wildlife Department for all the Moose Management Areas in Newfoundland. In 2006, the number had decreased to 107,600 (*Hunting and Trapping Guide 2004-2005, 2007-2008*). One obvious cause is the out-migration of young adults. People are emigrating from rural Newfoundland in record numbers in search of employment on the mainland or moving to larger urban centres within Newfoundland where the lifestyle is not as conducive to hunting as in the outports. While many come

home to hunt, more do not. This, in conjunction with the North American trend of having smaller families in general means fewer hunters.

9.3 Summary

In spite of these changes moose hunting remains a popular activity in rural areas of Newfoundland for several reasons. Besides the thrill of the hunt, it can be viewed as a relatively inexpensive source of meat for a major part of the year, particularly since the advent of family hunting practices.

Outport Newfoundlanders have embedded moose hunting experience into the social fabric of the community through social interaction. Most hunting experiences are not economically but socially driven at all stages, including the pre-hunt, the actual hunt, and the post-hunt. As Bill Balsom stated: "Economics is not even on the radar. It's about camaraderie, friendship." This certainly explains why hunters who spend no time with each other during the year steadfastly gather for a week of hunting in October, coming from different areas in Newfoundland, with one flying from Nova Scotia to do so. Harry Smith, aged 74, said: "I enjoy talking about moose hunting, what we did, should have done. People help each other get their moose if they need help. It's a great bit of fun to get up where the crowd is." And Max and Arch insist: "To get back to the cabin and put on a something to eat and someone drops in, it's a laugh."

Even the solitary "putting on a fry" is paradoxically an avenue for social bonding with other hunters. To be asked the inevitable "What was your moose like?" or "Did you have a fry yet?" or some other similar question is really an attempt to share another enjoyable aspect of hunting. Knowing most hunters have a fry soon after the hunt is over, the questioner is trying to determine if the person asked is also one who enjoys the fry. If the response indicates yes, inclusion in the hunting group is augmented. I suggest

that, in some instances, the responder will reply in the affirmative even if he has not had a fry, or doesn't intend to in the near future, in order to be considered a part of the social group.

For many, the yearly moose hunt is in response to the need to follow and maintain traditions and the most prominent of these is the collective sharing by hunters. No doubt there are other hunters who share in other societies, however, I feel that this phenomenon is representative of the whole of Newfoundland society and is manifested in the tangible and intangible aspects of the moose hunting sub-culture. No doubt evolving from a custom of offering fish to friend or stranger alike, virtually all moose hunters will give away a substantial portion of moose that in many cases they have paid dearly for.

We see it again at boil-ups when an excessive amount of food is brought by each in attendance with the sole purpose of sharing, insisting that some be accepted no matter how much the others have. Similarly, a hunter in a group will insist on contributing any material possession, regardless of its value, to be used for the hunt, downplaying its importance to him. I have witnessed a hunter provide another hunter with woollen mittens because they were more suitable for the weather conditions than what the latter had.

Hunters will also share the intangible. Knowledge of moose sightings or moose hunting areas with promising signs will be shared even if the giver is intending to hunt there himself. As well, it is common to see men give time and effort to help when another hunter is building a cabin especially if it is for hunting purposes. Most striking is the sharing of the hunting tradition with young people. Understandably, many fathers will want to teach their sons (or daughters for that matter) hunting skills, but adults will include others unrelated to them on a hunting trip for no other motive than to allow them

a hunting experience and to help them establish, and eventually share, an identity as moose hunters.

A connection with their heritage of accomplishment, independence and the call of the outdoors, then, is the common bond among moose hunters. All of my source persons expressed a profound love for the outdoors, specifically just "being in the woods." On a personal level I share this feeling. I had a profound and moving experience when, after retiring from teaching, I went on a hunting trip, alone, to Northwest Gander to a cabin approximately five hundred kilometres from home. I was there in solitude hunting for five days in total and though I never as much as saw a moose, it was immensely rewarding. At no time did I feel alone or dejected. When the time came that I had to come home, I left with a feeling of regret that I couldn't stay longer. More importantly, it left me with a feeling of having intrinsically bonded not only with other hunters but with the land and with our fishermen-hunter forefathers who took to the woods each fall to hunt.

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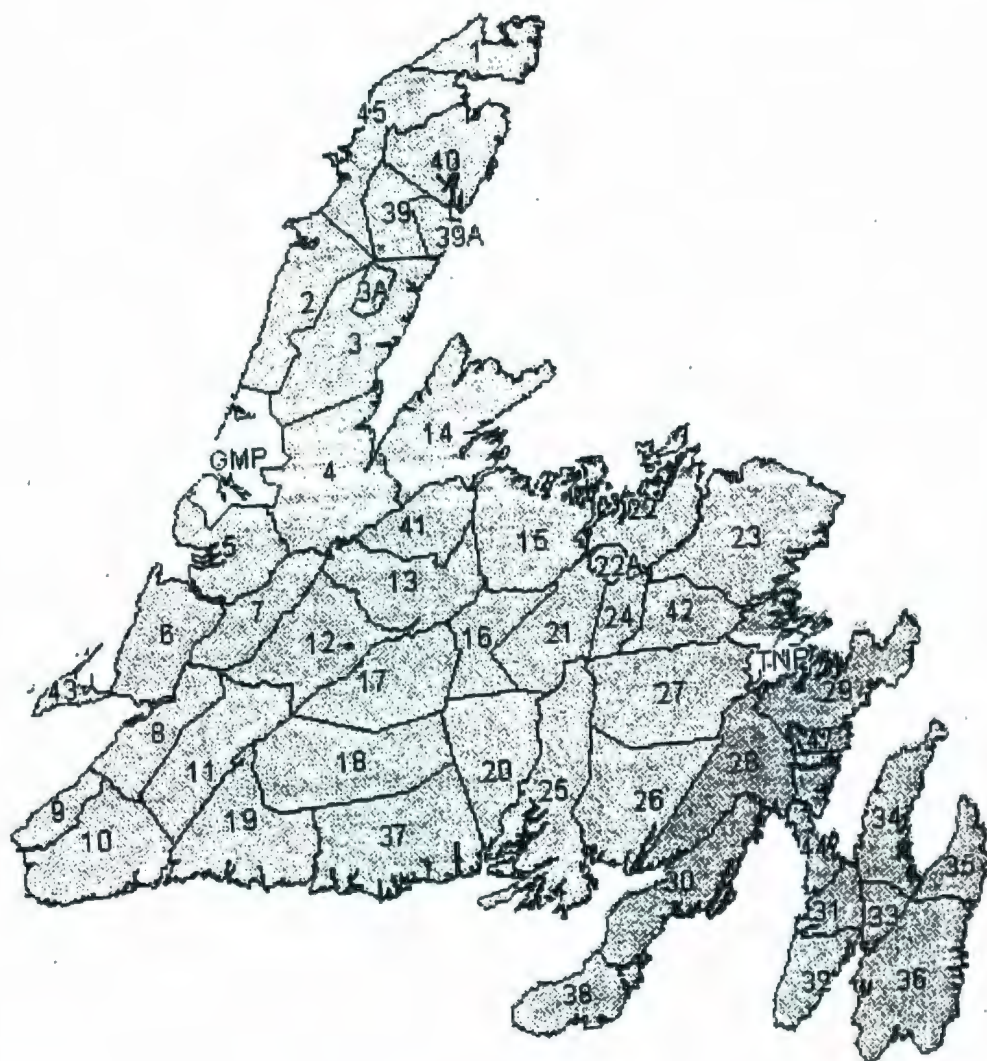
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Appendix 1

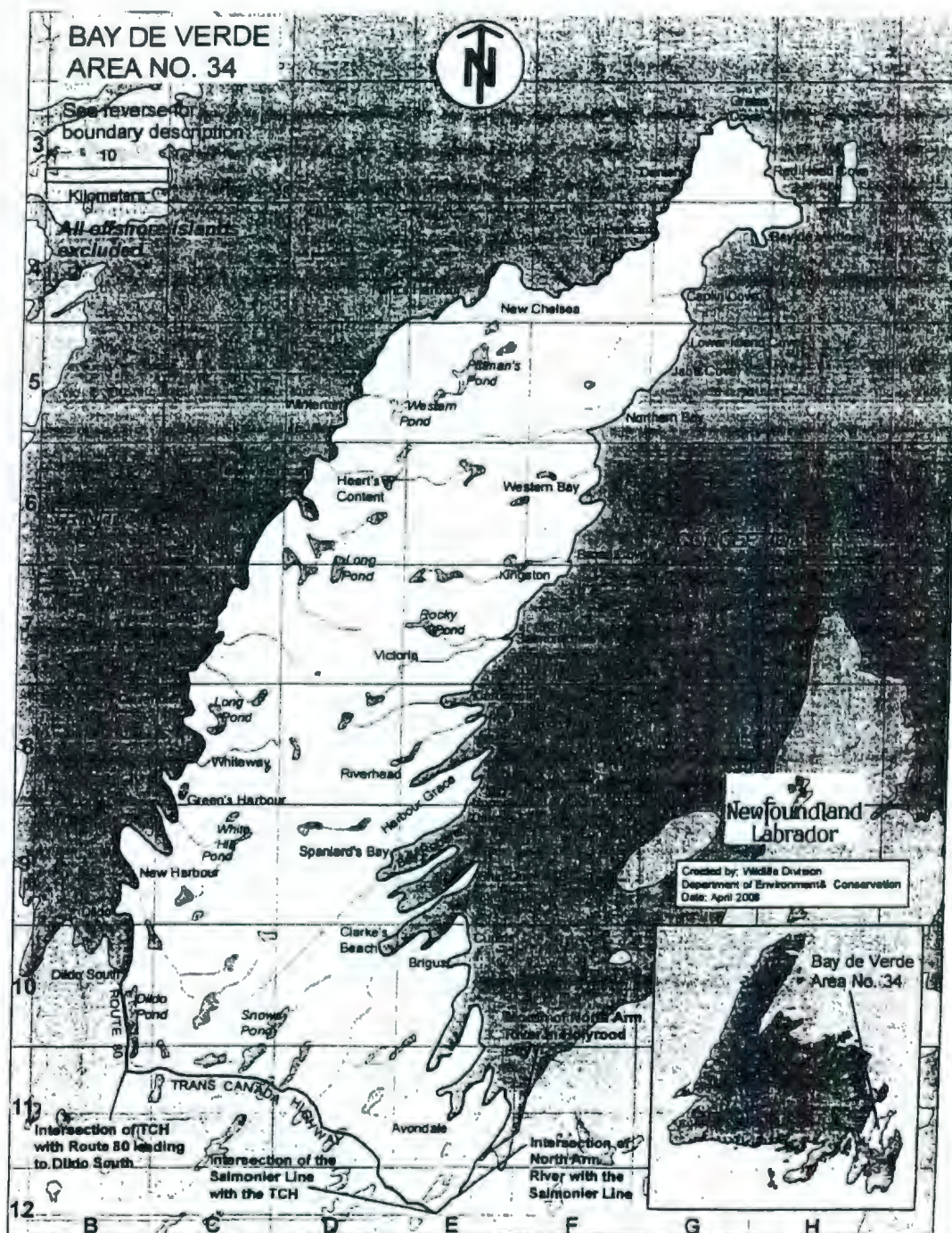
Moose Management Areas in Newfoundland



(Source: Hunting and Trapping Guide 2008-09)

Appendix 2

Heart's Content Hunting Area in MMA 34



(Source: Wildlife Division, Government of Newfoundland and Labrador)

Appendix 3

Hunting Expense Statement 2006 (copy of original)

HUNTING EXPENSE STATEMENT 2006		
<u>ITEMS</u>	<u>COSTS</u>	
GAS (vechicles,bikes,generators)	\$686	see note 2
GROCERIES	\$399	
MEAT CUTTING	\$301	see note 5
Cyril FISH (50 lbs @\$3.50/lb	\$175	
Cyril CASH (propane/ diesel fuel/road maintenance,etc)	\$100	
Cyril (gift-propane cooker/boiler & coffee maker)	\$81	
PROPANE (1.5 tanks)	\$30	see note 4
MEAT WRAPS (2 packages)	\$34	
Paper towells/toilet paper)	\$16	
TOTAL	\$1,822	
COST/PERSON		
	\$260	
SURPLUS/DEFICIT CALCULATIONS		
Individual Contribution less cost (\$300 - \$260 = \$40.00)		
2006 REFUNDS		
CARL	\$40	
DOC	\$40	
TOM	(\$10)	Collected \$250
HINDY	\$40	
DON	\$40	
DAVE	\$40	

NOTES

1-no charge for Cyril's scotch,bottled water,2 bags of vegetables(Jillian's school fundraising)

2-gas cost was higher(breakdown:Don-\$123,Carl \$172,Bill-\$218(to Hts Content) Cans for bike/generator- \$173

3- Groceries were up as the entire group stayed all 7 nights.

4-We were one day late connecting our propane tanks and one was not empty(charged for 1.5 tanks).Note -Cyril would prefer if we left his connected and paid extra cash-say \$40. This works as we would not have to be picking up and transporting the tanks to and fro)

5-Meat cutting costs were the highest in years as both moose were larger than previous years. (480 & 420 pounds +/- dressed).Group pays for cutting and mince only to avoid complications.

6-We gave Cyril extra fish plus cash and a gift(Note:\$11 recipricating saw blade included in \$81.00)

7-2005,2004 and 2003 Statements attached for comparison

8-receipts available

